A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

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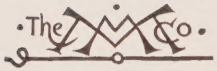
A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE



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EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF CHAUCER

(*Ellesmere Chaucer, Bridgewater House*)

A HISTORY OF

ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

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PREFACE

A History of English Literature, however brief, must survey twelve centuries of continuous and noble achievement. In the enormous accumulation of prose and poetry, an elementary textbook must neglect much that is of minor value and it must point the reader to what is best. Only through a vigorous selection can it hope to guide his interest and admiration to the great and permanent books in our literature. These books are not dead but still very much alive, stirring our minds and affecting our deeds to-day. Their history is a continuing record which brings the past close to the present and offers its wisdom and beauty as an illumination for our understanding and enjoyment of the world in which we live. Literature is not finished; it is day by day adding to its history; it is now one of the most extensive and engrossing occupations of men and women. The history of its twelve centuries of activity should lead to an acquaintance with its best, and to an understanding of its vital significance for our life to-day.

Such is the general purpose which has determined the specific aims and methods of this book. These may be stated as follows:

1. The book attempts to reveal literature as a living thing, having a bearing on the life of its readers — something issuing from men's lives and appealing to men's lives. This involves the avoidance of the usual mass of non-significant facts and dates and second-hand criticism in favor of an effort to bring the student into immediate contact with great works and authors, and to stimulate his interest and enjoyment in reading. The book is an introduction to the right appreciation of the best literature.

2. Full treatment is given to those authors and works only that are the best of their kind, and the lesser names, with which textbooks have too often burdened and confused the minds of pupils, are subordinated or frankly omitted. Every care has been taken not to tire the reader with an excess of detail relating to minor figures, of interest only to specialists.

3. The approach to the great authors has been made easy by a careful reconstruction of their personal characteristics and of the social and political surroundings in which they lived and wrote. Each of these men was a part of his time and has made that time live again for us.

4. The main epochs and movements have been interpreted as expressions of persistent ideas which continue to affect our society to-day. Books are not mere casual records of personal experience; they reflect and interpret the great changes in thought and feeling by which civilization moves onward.

5. The chief types of literature, such as novel, epic, drama, have been emphasized and their history traced so as to account for modern developments. Some knowledge of the forms in which men have framed their imaginative expression is essential to an understanding of the elements of literary art.

The more mechanical features of the book have been adapted to these aims and to the needs of students or readers who are undertaking a survey of literature. Attention is called to the following matters:

1. Each chapter is a carefully organized treatment of a unified subject and a topical outline is prefixed. A glance at these outlines will indicate to the experienced teacher how the authors have tried to meet the difficult problems of simplification and subordination in dealing with a vast and complicated subject.

2. Helps for the student at the end of each chapter include: (A) Suggestions for reading. The first paragraph gives a brief list of readings for the beginner, carefully selected from the chief authors. The second paragraph adds supplementary readings, critical, biographical, historical, or illustrative. (B)

Questions on text and suggested reading. (C) Topics for oral and written composition. (D) A chronological outline of English and foreign literature and history.

3. Illustrations have been selected which really illustrate. Manuscripts, specimens of early printing, and title pages of famous volumes reproduce the forms in which books appeared to their first readers. Contemporary pictures, including illuminations on medieval manuscripts, the masterpieces of great modern illustrators such as Hogarth and Cruikshank, supply a sort of panorama of changing fashions in architecture, costume, and manners. Indeed they illustrate the history of art and of civilization as well as of literature. Some twenty full-page portraits serve to bring the personalities of the authors vividly before the student.

4. A literary map of England has been specially prepared.

5. A general bibliographical guide precedes a full index of authors and titles.

A manual has been prepared which discusses the general problems of teaching literature and supplies for each chapter a large amount of additional material and suggestions for the teacher. This separate publication makes it possible to address every word in the textbook itself to the pupil.

Two suggestions to the teacher, duly emphasized in the manual, may be barely noted here. First, the teacher should give special aid to the pupil on the opening chapters, which survey periods remote and therefore difficult for the modern reader. The first two chapters might well be studied in the class under the teacher's guidance. Second, the teacher should never separate the study of the textbook from the study of literature itself. The book strives to guide the pupils to an interested reading of the best poetry and prose. This should also be the chief aim of the teacher.

The authors are indebted for criticism and for assistance on the "Guides to Study" to Miss Katherine Morse of the New York Training School for Teachers. For permission to reproduce

illustrations from various books, they are indebted to Longmans, Green and Company for those from Gardiner's "History of England," to the Oxford University Press for two from "Shakespeare's England," and to The Macmillan Company for those from Garnett and Gosse's "Illustrated History of English Literature," from Thorndike's "Shakespeare's Theater," and for portraits from the "Everyday Classics."

W. A. N.
A. H. T.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
I.	The Anglo-Saxon Period, 426–1066	1
II.	From the Norman Conquest to Chaucer, 1066–1350	20
III.	The Age of Chaucer, 1350–1485	39
IV.	Popular Literature	61
V.	The Renaissance	72
VI.	The Age of Shakespeare: Non-dramatic Literature, 1564–1616	92
VII.	The Age of Shakespeare: The Drama, 1564–1616	114
VIII.	Cavalier and Puritan, 1616–1660	148
IX.	The Age of Dryden, 1660–1700	179
X.	The Age of Pope, 1700–1744	197
XI.	The Age of Johnson, 1744–1784	226
XII.	The Poetry of the Romantic Period, 1785–1832	255
XIII.	The Prose of the Romantic Period, 1785–1832	300
XIV.	Mid-nineteenth Century Prose, 1832–1881	328
XV.	Mid-nineteenth Century Poetry, 1832–1881	364
XVI.	Mid-nineteenth Century Fiction, 1832–1881	390
XVII.	English Literature in the Twentieth Century, 1881–1914	415

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Equestrian Portrait of Chaucer . . . . . *Frontispiece*

PAGE

A page from the MS. of Beowulf in the British Museum . . 6
From a MS. of Cædmon's Hymn 12
Saxon Church 15
From the metrical romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion" . . 26
A page from Malory's "Morte Darthur" 32
Canterbury Cathedral 43
Canterbury Pilgrims. From a MS. in the British Museum . . 51
Printing in the Fifteenth Century 56
Caxton's Advertisement at Westminster 57
Map of the World, 1600 78
First page of "Everyman" 85
From Vischer's View of London: showing St. Paul's Cathedral and Theaters on the Bankside 94
From "The Shepherds' Calendar" 101
Sir Walter Raleigh and Son 106
Title-page of Hakluyt's "Voyages," 1598 108
The Swan Theater 117
Tarleton as Clown 119
Robert Greene 121
William Shakespeare, full-page portrait 127
Shakespeare's Birthplace 128
Table of Shakespeare's Plays 130
Title-page of the First Quarto of "Hamlet" 134
Title-page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays . . . 135
The Parish Church, Stratford-on-Avon 139
A Typical Shakespearian Stage 141
Francis Bacon, from his "Posthumous Works," 1657 . . . 153
John Milton, full-page portrait 165
Trinity College, Cambridge, in the time of Milton . . . 167
Title-page of Milton's "Areopagitica" 170
Title-page of Milton's "Paradise Lost," First Edition, 1667 . 174
Bunyan's Dream, from 1680 ed. of "Pilgrim's Progress" . . 185
John Dryden, full-page portrait 187
Alexander Pope, full-page portrait 203

PAGE
Pope's Villa at Twickenham 205
The only full-length portrait of Pope 206
A Page of MS. of "Gulliver's Travels" 212
Title-page of the "Spectator" 215
Illustration to "Robinson Crusoe" 220
Richardson reading the MS. of "Sir Charles Grandison" to his friends 230
From Hogarth's "A Conversation Piece" 233
Dr. Johnson Dressed for the Journey to the Hebrides . . 237
James Boswell 238
Oliver Goldsmith, full-page portrait 241
Stoke Pogis Church, showing the Tomb of Gray . . . 245
Horace Walpole's Library at Strawberry Hill 248
Robert Burns, full-page portrait 260
The Birthplace of Robert Burns 261
William Wordsworth, full-page portrait 265
Rydal Mount 268
Abbotsford 276
Lord Byron, full-page portrait 280
Lord Byron, drawn by Count D'Orsay 283
Percy Bysshe Shelley, full-page portrait 286
Facsimile MS. of Keats's Last Sonnet 291
Charles Lamb 305
Leigh Hunt 311
Sir Walter Scott, full-page portrait 319
Thomas Carlyle, full-page portrait 333
Alfred Tennyson, full-page portrait 366
Robert Browning, full-page portrait 372
Charles Dickens, full-page portrait 392
Illustration by George Cruikshank to "Oliver Twist" . . 394
Charles Dickens reading "The Chimes" to his friends . . 396
William Makepeace Thackeray, full-page portrait . . . 399
W. M. Thackeray, from a pencil drawing 401
George Meredith, full-page portrait 408
Robert Louis Stevenson, medallion by Saint-Gaudens . . 422
Rudyard Kipling, full-page portrait 426

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

CHAPTER I

THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD, 426-1066

What is meant by a history of English literature.

The Making of England. Britain before 426. The English Settlement. The Danes. The Conversion of England.

Pagan Poetry. *Beowulf*: style; plot; background; society. Minor Poems.

Christian Literature. The Story of Cædmon. Cædmonian Poems. Cynewulf. Alfred. Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*. *The Battle of Brunanburh*. *The Battle of Maldon*.

Summary.

Literature began before writing. As far back as human history runs and among the most savage people known to travelers, men are found to delight in singing songs and telling stories. The songs may be little more than syllables chanted in time to the movements made in working or marching or dancing, and the stories may be merely the boasts of the victorious warrior; but on the one hand we find the element of rhythm and on the other that of narrative. At the present day and among the most civilized of peoples rhythm and narrative have not ceased to charm.

When a man's feelings are stirred it is natural for him to seek some form of expression, and this form seems to be more satisfying when it is rhythmical. For this reason poetry, which is more marked and regular in its rhythm than prose, is the kind of literature in which we look for the record of how

men have felt; while prose is the medium for their thoughts and memories. This distinction does not by any means hold throughout, for there may be much thought and observation in poetry, and much feeling in prose, but it is roughly true.

As men develop they become interested in a wider and wider range of things, and their feelings and thoughts become more varied and more individual. The expression in words of these thoughts and feelings grows accordingly; and much of this in each generation is preserved and added to the store of what men deem most worthy of remembering. Thus literature becomes an ever growing record of human life, joining the past to the present, and enabling us to share with sympathy in the best that men have thought and imagined.

English literature has a very long history. It began among very primitive and scarcely civilized people, and it has gone on continuously, growing in quantity and in its power of reflecting the life of all sorts of men, down to the present day. No language has a literary record so long or on the whole so rich; and to study the history of English literature is to seek to know and feel with the men who have spoken English for more than a thousand years.

The Making of England

Britain before 426. Of the earliest compositions in the English language we have no record, but we know that they did not arise in the country now called England. To understand the situation at the period of their origin we must recall some facts as to the history and geography of Europe in the earlier centuries of the Christian era. The Roman Empire, which rose to its highest point of power shortly after the time of Christ, had expanded from its center in Italy in every direction. Farthest west, it had conquered part of the island of Britain, then inhabited by the Celts, who spoke the languages now represented by Welsh, Irish, and Scottish Gaelic. Across

the North Sea it had conquered and colonized Gaul, also occupied by Celtic tribes, and over most of the territory which is now France had obtained so firm a hold that the language which developed there is mainly derived from Latin. Pushing northward over the Alps, the Romans had met and partially overcome certain peoples belonging to the Teutonic group, whose languages included the earlier forms of the tongues of modern Germany, Scandinavia, and the Low Countries. The Teutonic tribes living to the south of Denmark, from the North Sea to the Baltic, were the ancestors of the English, and the earliest English literature was produced by them while they still lived on the Continent. In the first half of the fifth century after Christ, after the Romans, who had subdued the British Celts and converted them to Christianity, had withdrawn from the island, these northern Teutons, known as Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, crossed the North Sea, and, driving the Celts west and north to Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, took possession of the southern half of Britain. These invaders were still heathen, and worshiped Woden, Thor, and the other gods we read of in the early literature of Scandinavia.

The English Settlement. It took many years for these pagan tribes to become settled and to organize themselves into the English nation. First, there were a number of separate settlements: the Jutes took what is now Kent, in the southeastern corner; the Saxons occupied the southern part, and their name survives in Essex, Middlesex, Sussex, and Wessex, or the lands of the East, Middle, South, and West Saxons; and the Angles spread over the east midlands, and north from Suffolk to the Solway and the Firth of Forth. By the seventh century there were seven or eight distinct kingdoms, and these were gradually combined until one king ruled over a united England. The Angles had given their name to the whole island, as they gave it also to the language that developed out of the related dialects spoken by the various tribes. The "making of England" had taken four hundred years.

The Danes. This process of unification was by no means a peaceful one. Not only was there fierce fighting against the earlier Celtic inhabitants, and later among the new kingdoms themselves, but about 787 they began to be attacked by bands of sea rovers or " vikings " from Denmark and Norway. These enemies were themselves of Teutonic stock, but less closely related to the Angles and Saxons than the Angles and Saxons were to each other. At first the Danes came only on plundering expeditions, and after sailing up the rivers and laying waste the country, they went home with their booty. Gradually, however, they came to make permanent settlements; and though the English, especially under the famous King of Wessex, Alfred the Great, made vigorous efforts to drive them away, they succeeded in capturing the kingdom in 1013 and holding it for some thirty years. Then an English king regained the crown, and the English were once more their own masters till the coming of the Normans in 1066.

The period from the earliest settlements in 426 until 1066 is known as the Anglo-Saxon period; and the forms of language then used in England, though broken up into dialects, is known in general as Anglo-Saxon or Old English. It is the literature written in this speech that we have first to consider.

The Conversion of England. In 596 there arrived in England from Rome a band of Christian missionaries led by a monk called Augustine. They made their first converts in Kent, and from their center at Canterbury, still the seat of the Archbishop, who is the ecclesiastical head, or Primate, of all England, they spread their influence until in less than a century all the English were Christians. Monasteries were established over the whole country, and in these monasteries, at a time when few but priests could read and write, the earliest English literature was written down. As the monks hated the old pagan religion, it was natural that most of the literature connected with it was not preserved by them, and that nearly all surviving Anglo-Saxon literature is in some sense Christian. Yet the

Christian element in it is often superficial, as, no doubt, the Christian element in the newly converted English was often superficial; and the most notable of all Anglo-Saxon poems, *Beowulf*, belongs in origin and substance to the older pagan time.

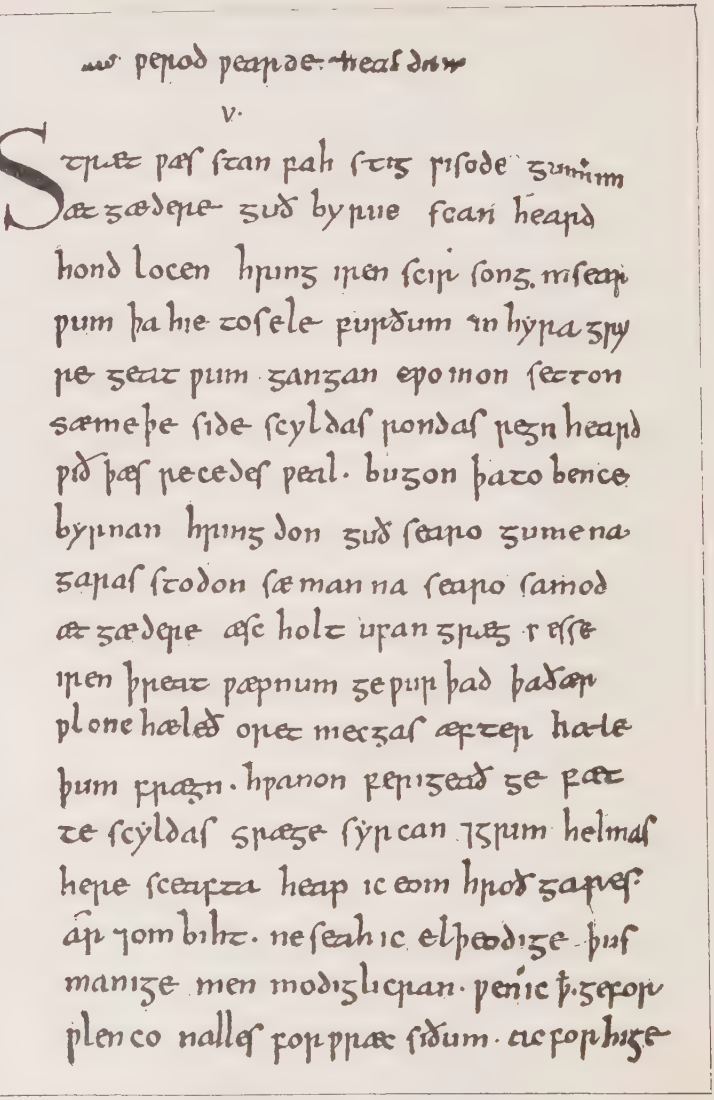
Pagan Poetry

Beowulf. We know that the Teutonic peoples of the Continent had minstrels who sang at the courts of their kings heroic songs celebrating great deeds in war. Compositions of this kind were brought to Britain by the Angles and Saxons, not in writing, but in the memories of the minstrels, who handed them down orally to their successors. *Beowulf* is an epic poem of over three thousand lines, built up from such materials. The manuscript in which it has come down to us was written, apparently by a Christian scribe, in the tenth century. But the poem itself is much earlier, deals with events on the Continent, and was probably put together in the seventh century on the basis of lays brought from over the sea. Beowulf's lord, Hygelac, is a recognizable historical figure, who lived about 520. The poem is written, like other Anglo-Saxon poetry, in an alliterative meter, exemplified in these lines:

Hwæt! we Gar-Dena in gear-dagum
þeod-cyninga þrym gefranon,
hu ðа æþelingas ellen fremedon.[1]

The long line has a break in the middle, and contains four metrical accents; the alliteration consists in beginning two or three of the accented syllables in each line with the same consonant, or with some vowel. Poems in alliterative meter continued to be written up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, but they are only occasional after the eleventh; and

[1] Lo! we Spear-Danes in days long past
Of warrior Kings' glory have heard,
How the princes wrought deeds of prowess.



A Page from the MS. of Beowulf in the British Museum
(*Cott. MS. Vitell. A* 15)

alliteration is still used as an ornament in English poetry, though not as a regular feature.

Style of Beowulf. The most marked features of the style of *Beowulf* are the use of kennings and of understatement. A kenning is a kind of metaphor, in which the simple name of anything is replaced by a phrase describing one of its functions or qualities; thus, "ring-giver" is used for king, "hearth-companions" for his attendant warriors, "swan's bath" or "whale's road" for sea, "sea-wood" for ship. These occur in great numbers. Such understatements as "not troublous" for very welcome, "no light thing" for impossible, "need not praise" for has a right to condemn, give a marked impression of reserve and at times a tinge of ironical humor. This quality is often regarded as a permanent characteristic of the English.

Plot of Beowulf. Beowulf was the nephew of Hygelac, king of the Geats, a people living in the south of Sweden, or in Jutland. News reaches him that Hrothgar, king of the Danes, who has built a great hall, Heorot, is in sore trouble. Grendel, a terrible monster, makes nightly raids and carries off his warriors, so that the hall of feasting is deserted. Beowulf takes ship with fourteen companions, and landing on Hrothgar's coast, offers to attempt the conquest of Grendel. After a feast of welcome, Beowulf and his companions lie down in Heorot for the night, and are shortly roused by Grendel, who seizes and devours one of Beowulf's men. He next attacks the hero, who grapples with him with his hands, since weapons do not avail against him; and after a violent struggle Grendel retreats mortally injured, leaving his arm with Beowulf. Great rejoicing follows, and next night the hall is once more inhabited by Hrothgar's men. But Grendel has a mother who comes and avenges her son's death by carrying away the chief counselor of Hrothgar. Beowulf and his band follow the bloody trail to the edge of a dismal water, beside which they find the head of the lost warrior. Beowulf plunges into the water, finds the

old she-monster, and, beating off the attacks of strange sea-beasts, follows her into a hall under the waves, where he engages in desperate combat. His sword fails to bite and at first he gets the worst of it and all but succumbs. But he sees a great sword, wrought by the giants, and with this he carves through the neck of the sea-witch, cuts off the head of the dead Grendel, and with this trophy rejoins his anxious comrades. After receiving the thanks of Hrothgar and many splendid gifts, he sails home to the land of the Geats.

In course of time he fell heir to Hygelac, and ruled for fifty years. Then one day a criminal, seeking a hiding place, stumbled on a dragon's hoard, from which he stole a costly goblet, which he presented to the king in hope of getting pardon. The dragon awaking saw his footprints and missed the cup, and in his rage came forth and ravaged the land with the fire he belched forth. With eleven comrades Beowulf went to seek the dragon, and leaving them above on the headland, entered the dragon's mound and attacked him. Again the sword failed to bite, and the hero was enveloped in flame. All his companions save one fled in terror, but Wiglaf came to the help of his lord and, though his shield was consumed and he scorched, he gave the dragon a mortal thrust under the belly. But Beowulf was hopelessly wounded, and after a farewell speech he died and was buried on the headland above the scene of his last fight, leaving his people mourning their lord and defender.

> Thus made their mourning the men of Geatland,
> For their hero's passing, his hearth-companions,
> Quoth that of all the kings of earth,
> Of men he was the mildest and most belovèd,
> To his kin the kindest, keenest for praise.

Background of Beowulf. Many features of the old Teutonic life are pictured in the poem. The monsters and evil spirits which play so large a part in the story were real enough to the imagination at a time when both England and the Continent

of Europe had great stretches of almost unexplored forest and swamp, and when the wanderer who strayed a few miles from the towns and main roads found himself in surroundings well fitted to rouse terror and a sense of mystery. The physical background of the poem, whether based on the landscape of England or of northern Europe, gives powerfully this feeling of awe before the unknown. One of the most vivid pieces of description, the account of the haunt of Grendel, illustrates this:

> Untrod is their home;
> By wolf-cliffs haunt they and windy headlands,
> Fenways fearful, where flows the stream
> From mountains gliding to gloom of the rocks,
> Underground flood. Not far is it hence
> In measure of miles that the mere expands,
> And o'er it the frost-bound forest hanging,
> Sturdily rooted, shadows the wave.
> By night is a wonder weird to see,
> Fire on the waters. So wise lived none
> Of the sons of men, to search those depths!
> Nay, though the heath-rover, harried by dogs,
> The horn-proud hart, this holt should seek,
> Long distance driven, his dear life first
> On the brink he yields ere he brave the plunge
> To hide his head: 'tis no happy place!
> Thence the welter of waters washes up
> Wan to welkin when winds bestir
> Evil storms, and air grows dusk,
> And the heavens weep.
>
> *Trans.* Gummere.

Society in Beowulf. But there is much cheerful human life in *Beowulf*. The center is the hall of the king, the scene of joyous feasting, where underneath the boasting and rivalry we are made to feel that loyalty to the leader which was the great bond of the old Teutonic society. Courage and faith and the love of kin, such as are expressed in the last speeches of Beowulf and Wiglaf, are the dominant motives in the lives

of these simple and strong people. The literature of the modern European languages really begins with this poem, for since the decline of Greek and Latin, no language had produced anything to be compared with it in size or in power, and it forms no unworthy opening to the splendor and richness of the literature which the English language was to contain.

Minor Poems. Other remains of pagan poetry, such as *The Fight of Finnsbury*, *Waldere*, *Deor's Lament*, and *Widsith* (Far-Wanderer), the last two of which are more or less personal utterances of professional minstrels, are fragmentary, but indicate that what we have of this material is only a fraction of what once existed. In every chieftain's house, as in the great hall of Hrothgar, the warriors gathered to listen to the songs of the minstrels or scops. The scop was a maker as well as a chanter of poems, and he might praise the bounty of his lord, as did the author of *Deor's Lament;* or, like the poet of *Widsith*, relate his forced wanderings from hall to hall seeking reward. Poetry was already an honorable profession.

Christian Literature

The Story of Cædmon. More voluminous are the survivals of the Christian poetry preserved in the monasteries. Here the two great names are Cædmon and Cynewulf. They both lived in Northumbria, where large monasteries were built, and where for several centuries religion and education flourished. The story of Cædmon is told by the "venerable Bede," a learned monk of the seventh century who wrote in Latin a history of the church. Since his day every historian of English literature has repeated his account of the cowherd in the monastery at Whitby, presided over by the Abbess Hilda. In the evenings when the inmates and dependents of the monastery entertained each other by singing in turn to the harp, Cædmon used to retire because he could not sing. "This he had done at a certain time, and leaving the house where the

feast was in progress, had gone out to the stable where the care of the cattle had been assigned to him for that night. There, when it was time to go to sleep, he had lain down for that purpose. But while he slept some one stood by him in a dream, greeted him, called him by name, and said, 'Cædmon, sing me something.' To this he replied, 'I know not how to sing, and that is the very reason why I left a feast and came here, because I could not sing.' But the one who was talking with him answered, 'No matter, you are to sing for me.' 'Well, then,' said he, 'what is it that I must sing?' 'Sing,' said the other, 'the beginning of created things.' At this reply he immediately began to sing verses in praise of God the Creator, verses that he had never heard." Bede then gives a Latin translation of Cædmon's hymn, which has been preserved also in the original, and which runs in modern English as follows:

> Now must we hymn the Master of Heaven,
> The might of the Maker, the deeds of the Father,
> The thought of His heart. He, Lord everlasting,
> Established of old the source of all wonders:
> Creator all-holy, He hung the bright heaven,
> A roof high upreared, o'er the children of men;
> The King of mankind then created for mortals
> The world in its beauty, He earth spread beneath them,
> He, Lord everlasting, omnipotent God.

In the morning he told his dream and repeated his poem, and the abbess and her monks concluded "that heavenly grace had been conferred upon him by the Lord." They translated a part of the Bible for him, and by next morning he had turned it into excellent verse. So he became a regular monk, and went on with his versifying of scripture history. "He sang of the creation of the world, of the origin of man, and of all the history of Israel; of their departure from Egypt and entering into the Promised Land; of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Christ, and of his ascension; of the terror of future judgment, the horror of hell-pangs, and the joys of heaven."

FROM A MS. OF CÆDMON'S HYMN
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford*)

The story of how Cædmon became a poet has an interest beyond the national one. It is the English version of a legend found in many lands which seeks to explain the source of the poet's inspiration. There has always seemed to men to be something supernatural in this, and the vision of the cowherd is an attempt to express the divine origin of poetry. The story also gives us a vivid picture of the way in which the church was encouraging literature and learning. It is now in the monastery rather than the chieftain's hall that men gather to hear stories sung; and it is in the monastery that even a poor cowherd may receive the education needful for the cultivation of his gift of song. English literature for a long time to come was mainly the production of the clergy.

Cædmonian Poems. When a manuscript containing Anglo-Saxon verse paraphrases of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel* was discovered, it was natural that it should be concluded that they were Cædmon's; but now it is agreed that nothing that survives can be safely assigned to him but the hymn we have quoted, though the paraphrases are still called for convenience the Cædmonian poems. Though their material is drawn from the Bible, their manner makes it clear that their unknown authors were familiar with such pagan heroic poetry as *Beowulf*, and the most vigorous and poetical passages have in general the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon epic style. In these also we find kennings and understatements; and the battles of the Israelites are described in terms very similar to those used of the contests of Saxons and Danes.

Cynewulf. Of the personal history of Cynewulf, the other great name in Anglo-Saxon Christian poetry, nothing is certainly known except that he lived in the eighth century; but we are more fortunate with his works. He wrote *Crist*, an elaborate religious poem, by turns lyrical, devotional, dramatic, and allegorical; *The Fates of the Apostles; Elene*, the story of the finding of the true cross by Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine; and *Juliana*, a saint's legend. Other

poems have with less certainty been assigned to him or his imitators, — a miraculous account of St. Andrew; *Judith*, the story of the killing of Holofernes from the Apocrypha; *The Dream of the Holy Rood; The Phœnix*, a religious allegory on the bird which lived five hundred years, and, having been consumed by fire, sprang renewed from its own ashes; and a group of Riddles.

Cynewulf was a man of true religious fervor, a rich imagination, and the master of a style of great eloquence. A few lines from that part of *Crist* which deals with the Day of Judgment will exemplify some of these qualities.

> Therewith from the four, far-off corners of the world,
> From the regions uttermost of the realm of earth,
> All aglow the Angels blow with one accord
> Loudly thrilling trumpets. Trembles middle-garth;
> Earth is quaking under men! Right against the going
> Of the stars they sound together, strong and gloriously.
> Sounding and resounding from the south and north;
> Over all creation, from the east and from the west;
> Bairns of doughty men from the dead arising,
> All aghast from the gray mould, all the kin of men,
> To the dooming of the Lord.
>
> *Trans.* Brooke.

Alfred. The most interesting figure in Anglo-Saxon prose is King Alfred (849–901). Though much of his life was spent in a life-and-death struggle against the Danes, he found time and energy to care for the intellectual and religious interests of his people. The invaders had destroyed the culture of Northumbria, where literature had first flourished; but now in the ninth century he tried to relight the lamp of learning in the southern kingdom of Wessex. Here, at his court at Winchester, he gathered round him a group of scholars with whose aid he translated books on history and geography, a book of instructions for parish priests, and the famous Latin work of Boethius, *On the Consolation of Philosophy*. But, as has been said, the chief writers of the period were the clergy, and among them the

most noted were Ælfric and Wulfstan, who have left numbers of sermons and other religious writings.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It was in the monasteries, too, that there was carried on from the middle of the ninth century till the middle of the twelfth, the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle.* Beginning as mere jottings recording the accessions and deaths of kings, the *Chronicle* developed into a fairly continuous prose

Saxon Church

history, but its development is by no means uniform. During the troublous times of the Danish invasions, the monasteries themselves almost disappeared, in spite of the efforts of Alfred to maintain and reëstablish them; but Ælfric's influence was more successful, and from his time in the end of the tenth century they began once more to be literary centers. Much that was written in them was naturally in Latin, since that was the language of the church; but both Alfred and Ælfric realized that culture could reach the people only in their own tongue.

The Battle of Brunanburh. Embedded in the prose of the *Chronicle*, which is more valuable as history than as literature, are some passages of poetry, the best of which is the splendid war-song of *The Battle of Brunanburh*, celebrating the defeat of an army of Danes, Welsh, and Scots, by Athelstan, the grandson of Alfred, in 937. The opening stanzas of Tennyson's translation give some idea of the vigor of this early battle-poem, though it suggests rather than reproduces the meter of the original.

I.

Athelstan King,
Lord among Earls,
Bracelet-bestower and
Baron of Barons,
He with his brother,
Edmund Atheling,
Gaining a lifelong
Glory in battle,
Slew with the sword-edge
There by Brunanburh,
Brake the shield-wall,
Hew'd the lindenwood,
Hack'd the battle shield
Sons of Edward with hammer'd brands.

II.

Theirs was a greatness
Got from their grandsires —
Theirs that so often in
Strife with their enemies
Struck for their hoards and their hearths and their homes.

The Battle of Maldon. Of a similar kind, but preserved separately, is the fragmentary *Battle of Maldon*, describing a victory of the Danes in 991. Here, as powerfully as in *Beowulf*, are expressed the primitive Teutonic virtues of courage and loyalty. The English leader, Byrhtnoth, is wounded to death, and thus utters his last breath:

The mind must be the firmer, the heart must be the keener,
The mood must be the bolder, as our might lesseneth.
Here our lord lieth, all to pieces hewn,
Goodly on the ground. Ever may he grieve
Whoso from this war-play thinketh now to wend.
I am old in years, never hence will I,
But here I, by the side of my well-beloved lord,
By the man so dear, mean in death to lie.

Summary. Such are the most important literary productions of the oldest period of our language. Some have of necessity been omitted, early lyrics like *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer*, and *The Ruin*, and much religious and moral writing. But to know *Beowulf* among the relics of the pagan times, something of the Cædmonian and Cynewulfian Christian poetry, and something of the prose of Alfred, Ælfric, and Wulfstan, is to know what is of most significance. The spirit of these writers is in many respects far remote from that of our day, and their literary ornaments may easily seem to us simple and even childish; but it is worth while to exercise our imaginations to get into sympathy with them, both because as artists they are greater than may at first appear, and because they help to give us a conception of how our remote forefathers lived and thought. The writings that have been mentioned represent the chief survivals of several centuries during which civilization ebbed and flowed more than once. Almost by accident the handful of manuscripts in which they are preserved has escaped the risks of war and neglect, and we can only guess how many are altogether lost. It has required the long study of many scholars to regain a mastery of the language in which they are written, to decipher the faded script of the old monks, and to edit in modern print these fragmentary records of the life and thought of a thousand years ago.

Guides to Study

Reading. Beowulf: the whole poem as translated by Child, Cook and Tinker, or Gummere, with special attention to the Flyting, 499–606;

the Fight with Grendel, 710–836; the Lay, 864–915; the Fight with Grendel's Mother, 1473–1650; the Fight with the Dragon, 2538–2706; the Death of Beowulf, 2707–2820. Read the Battle of Brunanburh, Tennyson's translation.

Examples of minor Anglo-Saxon poetry in Manly's English Poetry, Newcomer's Twelve Centuries of English Poetry and Prose, Cook and Tinker's Translations from Old English Poetry, Faust and Thompson, etc.

The historical background may be studied in Green's Short History; Gardiner, Cheyney, and Cross. Novels dealing with the period are numerous; among them are D. Christie Murray's One Traveller Returns (Britain in the Second Century), Kipling's Puck of Pook's Hill (early inhabitants of Britain), Yonge's Little Duke (Normandy). Longfellow's Saga of King Olaf and Skeleton in Armor are laid in this period.

Questions. What does the word *Literature* mean? Trace some of the changes literature has undergone. What is rhythm? What is the importance of studying English literature? Who inhabited Britain before the Romans? Tell of some of the Roman conquests. Where did the English come from? With a map locate the various early settlements, marking the date of each. Who Christianized the English? When was all England united? How long had the union taken? What struggles took place in the process? Who was the greatest figure in this period?

What class of men composed the earliest English poetry? How was it preserved? Who was Beowulf? What feelings and what motives are given Beowulf in the poem? What is a "kenning"? What is "understatement"? What is alliterative verse? Give samples of the last two from modern speech. What seems to you most interesting in Beowulf? What is the background of Beowulf? What kind of society is shown?

Who was Cædmon? Tell of his supernatural experience and its results. What was the subject matter of his poems? What have been attributed to him? What is the other great name in Anglo-Saxon Christian poetry? What did he write? What things about King Alfred make him an interesting figure? Give some anecdotes about him. Against whom did he fight? What makes him an important figure in literature? Is prose or poetry earlier in English literature? Find on a map of England Whitby, Winchester, Kent, Canterbury, Wessex.

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. The Position of the Poet To-day and in Cædmon's Time. A Review of Some Outside Reading on This Period. The Growth of Literature. The Settlers of England. The Romans in Britain. Life at a Saxon Court. The Battle of Brunanburh (from memory). Comparison of Brunanburh with The Charge of the Light Brigade. How Women Were Regarded in Beowulf.

Chronological Table, 426-1066

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
	480–524. Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy.*	426. Beginning of Teutonic invasions. 520? Hygelac. 570–632. Mohammed. 590–604. Papacy of Gregory the Great. 596. Augustine in Kent.
	634. *The Koran.*	635–665. Conversion of Northumbria.
670 cir. Cædmon. 731. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica.*		
700–800. *Beowulf* written down. *Fight of Finnsburg. Waldere. Deor's Lament. Widsith. Seafarer. Wanderer. The Ruin.*		711. Arabs conquer Spain. 778. Battle of Roncesvalles. 787. Danish invasions begin.
Genesis, Exodus, Daniel. Cynewulf, *Crist, Fates of the Apostles, Elene, Juliana.* *Andreas, Judith, Dream of the Holy Rood, Phœnix.*		800. Charlemagne emperor. 827. Egbert overlord of all England to the Forth. 871. Alfred king.
849–901. Alfred, Translations of Boethius, etc. 850. Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* begun. 1000 cir. Ælfric. 1014 cir. Wulfstan, *Homilies.*	900 cir. *Chanson de Roland.*	937. Battle of Brunanburh. 991. Battle of Maldon. 1013–1042. Danish kings in England. 1042. Edward the Confessor. 1049. Westminster Abbey begun. 1066. Harold, last Saxon king. Battle of Hastings.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO CHAUCER, 1066-1350

EUROPE IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. France. The Normans. The Norman Conquest. The Anglo-Norman Feudal System. Unity of Medieval Europe. Norman and Saxon. Language after the Conquest. French and Latin Literature in England.

THE ROMANCES. Chivalry. Cycles of Romance. The Matter of Britain. Layamon's *Brut*. Arthur in France. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Sir Thomas Malory. English Romances. The Matter of France.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE. Religious and Moral Works. Shorter Narratives. Songs.

SUMMARY.

Was there any English nation after the Norman Conquest? Was the language spoken and written that of the conquered or that of the conquerors? How did literature continue and finally come to represent neither the Norman lords nor the humble peasants alone, but the whole English people? In order to answer these questions intelligently, we shall need to give up some of the modern meanings that belong to "nation," "language," and "literature," and try to understand what these terms represent in the three centuries after the Conquest.

EUROPE IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

France. During the Anglo-Saxon period and for some time after there was little or no sense of what we call "nationality" in western Europe. England, as we have seen, only slowly achieved unity, and it was not long under one king before it was conquered first by the Danes and then by the Normans, both of whom were more than willing to regard their new terri-

tory as their home, although they formed a small minority of the population. Something like a people with national feeling was formed in France by the Emperor Charlemagne in the ninth century, and the language we now call French was being formed from the Latin which the inhabitants had learned from the Roman soldiers and colonists. But the people were mixed in race, boundaries were uncertain, and after Charlemagne's death much of his work, both in the peaceful arts he had tried to establish and in political union, was undone. The Teutonic peoples were a mass of warring tribes who were not to settle down into their national units for many centuries. The Roman Empire had gone to pieces, and the various populations that had been under its dominion were far from being organized into stable groups that could be called nations. We must be careful, then, not to read back into the Middle Ages definite ideas of nationality which really belong to a much later time.

The Normans. While the Danes were harassing England, disturbing its political development, destroying its culture, and checking the growth of Christianity, kinsmen of theirs from Scandinavia were settling in the northeastern part of France. The inhabitants of that country, whom these Norsemen, or Normans as they came to be called, met and conquered were originally Celts, like the inhabitants of Britain. They had been conquered by the Romans, from whom they had gained much of the southern civilization, with whom they had to a considerable extent intermarried, and whose language, as we have seen, formed the basis of what we now call French. The Normans did not destroy this conquered region of France as the Danes had destroyed Northumbria, but adopted its language and civilization; and in the course of a century or so they had become not only one of the most vigorous peoples in Europe, but had taken a leading place in religion and learning.

The Norman Conquest. In the middle of the eleventh century Norman power and enterprise had reached their highest

point under the leadership of Duke William, a man of extraordinary strength, both physical and intellectual. Laying claims to the English throne, he crossed the Channel with an army in September, 1066, met the new English ruler, Harold, at Hastings in Sussex, and overthrew him in a battle in which Harold was killed. By Christmas he was complete master of the southeastern half of England, and was crowned king at Westminster. Revolts occurred in various districts for the next three years, but these were firmly suppressed and left "William the Conqueror" king of the whole country.

The Anglo-Norman Feudal System. The system under which William had held the Duchy of Normandy was that prevalent over much of western Europe and known as feudalism. According to it, the nobles held their land from the sovereign, and in return were obliged to pay certain dues and to supply at demand armed forces proportionate to the size of their estates. The nobles in turn divided their lands among sub-vassals, who owed them tribute and services such as they themselves owed to the king. The great danger in this arrangement lay in the possibility of the nobles' combining against the king, since their vassals swore allegiance only to them. When William organized his conquest of England he established feudalism there, confiscating the lands of the English barons who had resisted him, and bestowing them upon his Norman followers. But, in order to secure his own authority against the power of his barons, he compelled all vassals to take oaths to him directly as well as to their immediate overlords, and he made the administration of justice directly dependent on the crown. He further strengthened his own power by replacing the English bishops with Normans, by making himself the head of the bishops as he was of the barons, and by refusing to regard the Pope as overlord of his kingdom. By all these means he achieved a position of extraordinary strength; yet, though his system in its main lines lasted for a long time, the political history of the Middle Ages in England is largely a history of contests for authority

between king and barons or king and church, with the commons gradually assuming more and more importance.

Unity of Medieval Europe. A similar situation existed over a large part of the Continent, for though in one sense Europe was broken up into much smaller fragments then than now, it was in another sense much more uniform. Now Europe is composed of great nations, each with its own language, government, commerce, and habits of life. Then it was divided up under hundreds of petty rulers, but every man owed allegiance to an overlord and to the church. In the few large towns, becoming prosperous through trade, there was some independence, but even they were largely controlled by monastery and castle. Throughout the western half of Europe the two great organizing forces were feudalism and the church, and the church was one and international, in spite of the attempts of individual kings to do away with the foreign authority of Rome in their own kingdoms. The prevalence of feudalism created similar social conditions everywhere, the chief feature of which was a distinct division into classes, the farm laborers being little better than serfs. This uniformity of social and religious organization gave the medieval literature and art a common character which disappeared only slowly as nationalities developed and acquired individual characteristics. The poem which delighted the knights and ladies of one castle would be likely to please those of almost every castle in Europe. All education and scholarship were under the control of the clergy of a universal church. Furthermore, the use of Latin as the language of learning tended to preserve the intellectual unity of Europe.

Norman and Saxon. The Norman Conquest left England with a population mainly of Anglo-Saxon blood, but with the social, religious, and military leadership in the hands of a few thousands of Norman barons. A picture extremely vivid, and accurate enough in general outline, of the conditions that resulted, is given in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, which describes the situation about a century and a quarter after the Conquest. Though

the old English barons were not totally dispossessed, and though some of them intermarried with the Normans, the general relation of Norman and Saxon was that of master and servant. As usually happens, the servants imitated the masters in matters of custom and fashion, so that gradually the Norman way of life imposed itself on the English; and as English learning had been already in decline before the Conquest, the Norman impress in scholarship and literature was particularly strong.

Language after the Conquest. One of the most striking manifestations of the supremacy of the conquerors was naturally to be seen in the language. The Normans spoke French, and for about three centuries continued to speak it; while their English subjects retained their old tongue. The period of the use of French by the aristocracy was prolonged not only by the fact that the new kings retained Normandy, but also that with the accession of the house of Anjou in 1154, the whole western half of what is now France, from the borders of Flanders to the Pyrenees, came under the Norman-English crown. Thus more than half of France was under the English kings, and for a considerable period the court at London was a chief center of French culture. In view of this situation it is easy to understand why the Norman nobility, in spite of their comparatively small numbers, were able to maintain their own language against the English of the vast majority of the population. Little by little, however, Normans and English drew together and intermingled; the loss of territory after territory of their continental dominions led the Normans to regard England more and more as their permanent home; and by the end of the fourteenth century English was once more the dominant speech in king's court and law court, in church and castle, and French had practically ceased to be written in England.

But the English which regained supremacy in the field of literature was very different from the English of Alfred and the *Chronicle*. The elaborate system of inflections, — the case endings and marks of conjugation, such as survive in modern

German, — had to a large extent fallen away, and a great number of new words had been taken over from French. The structure of the language remained English, and the common words which appear in every sentence, the auxiliary verbs, pronouns, prepositions, and conjunctions, were almost all retained, though often somewhat modified in form. But many terms employed by the Normans were adopted into the English language. Such are words dealing with government and land-holding, war, hunting, cooking, costume, the church, and the law. The situation is typified by the use of the English "calf," "swine," and "sheep" for the animals when tended by the Saxon cowherd, and of the French "veal," "pork," and "mutton" for the flesh served at the noble's table.

French and Latin Literature in England. We are not here concerned with the French and Latin works produced in England in the centuries following the Conquest, but we ought to keep in mind that there were many if we wish to form a correct idea of the intellectual life of England in this period. For a time indeed there was almost no literature in the English tongue. When poems and sermons and stories begin again to be written in English, they often were scarcely more than translations of French and Latin. For a long time the scholar wrote in Latin and the courtier in French rather than in the language of the people. For the history of thought, English is much less important than the other two languages for three centuries after the Conquest.

The Romances

The most prominent kind of literature in the Anglo-Norman period was the romance. The romance was a long composition, sometimes in verse, sometimes in prose, describing the life and adventures of a noble hero. Though it often had an historical basis, the story was the chief interest, and facts of date and place were not allowed to interfere with free invention. Super-

natural characters and events were frequently introduced — dragons, fays, and enchantments. The scenes were laid in all the countries of the world and not infrequently in other worlds. The romances were sometimes recited by professional minstrels, sometimes written to read aloud; but in both cases the audience was usually the audience of the castle. The romances had nothing to do with the common people, and the common people had little to do with them.

From the Metrical Romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion"

(*Wynkyn de Worde*, 1528)

Chivalry. The manners and morals pictured in these compositions belonged as a rule to the system known as chivalry. The center of the chivalrous society was the knight, a man of noble birth skilled in the use of weapons. He is commonly represented either as riding forth alone or with his attendant squire seeking adventure, rescuing wronged maidens, killing monsters and overthrowing tyrants; or as taking part in tournaments; or as fighting for his lord in battle. Though distinctly a man of the world, he was devoted to the church; but his conduct was regulated less by religion than by an artificial yet strict code of rules governing his behavior in love and arms. In the world of chivalry the lady occupied a central place, and it was

no accident that during this period the adoration of the Virgin Mary grew to its place of importance in the medieval church. Women were not indeed regarded as the equals of men but rather as beings of another order to whose protection a knight was bound to devote himself. Chivalry was a profession and an ideal as well as a system. The aspirant to knighthood served an apprenticeship as squire, during which he learned manners and the mastery of his arms; he was admitted to the order with solemn ceremony and the swearing of oaths; and if he betrayed the ideal through cowardice or impiety or discourtesy, he was liable to be degraded. It is difficult to decide how far the standards and customs exhibited in these narratives were actually in force in the society of the time, but there is no doubt that they influenced profoundly the ideals at which that society aimed, and down to our own day the conception of the "honor of a gentleman" is in no small degree due to chivalry.

Cycles of Romance. The great majority of the romances fall into groups or cycles concerned with what an old French poet called the "matter of Britain," the "matter of France," and the "matter of Rome." Others deal with more purely English heroes, others with the Orient, while there is also a considerable number on scattered themes. The matter of Britain has to do chiefly with King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table; the matter of France with the Emperor Charlemagne and his peers; the matter of Rome may be extended to include Greek themes like those of Troy and Thebes and Alexander as well as Æneas and Julius Cæsar. In the great majority of cases the English versions of these stories are translated or paraphrased from the French, which in turn often go back to Latin, Greek, or Celtic sources.

The Matter of Britain. Among the Latin historians writing in England Geoffrey of Monmouth stands out as the most important for the history of literature. His Latin prose *History of the Kings of Britain*, 1147, is indeed of small value as history, but was of immense influence on poetry. In it he gives the

first detailed account of Arthur, and starts the career of the foremost hero of romance. The historical Arthur was a Celtic general who led the Christian Britons in their resistance to the pagan Saxon invaders about 500, after the withdrawal of the Romans from the island. On the basis of traditions and of an alleged "British book," of which there is now no trace, Geoffrey built up, with the aid of his imagination, a career for Arthur, making him more Norman knight than Celtic chieftain. In a few years his popular work had been turned into French verse by Wace, a Norman singer, and shortly after 1200 it formed the foundation for a kind of patriotic English epic written by a Worcestershire monk called Layamon.

Layamon's Brut. Layamon's poem was written in alliterative verse with a considerable number of rimes — these being the result of the influence of the French poems he had read; but the language, though nearly a century and a half after the Conquest, contains hardly any French words. It was called "Brut," a common name for works tracing the history of Britain from the days of the mythical founding of the kingdom by the great-grandson of Æneas, Brutus. The last third of Layamon's *Brut* is devoted to the legend of Arthur, and it appears that he enlarged the material supplied by Geoffrey and Wace from the stories handed down through oral tradition as well as from his imagination. Layamon was not a great poet, and his simply yet vividly told story is important because it is the most considerable work in English in the two hundred and fifty years following the Conquest, because it shows us what the English language had become, and because it is the only English contribution to the Arthurian legend during its formative period.

Arthur in France. For, though Arthur was a Briton and Geoffrey and Layamon Englishmen, the credit of transforming Arthur into a hero of romance and building up the great cycle of poetic narrative about the knights of the Round Table belongs to the French. France was at the time the intellectual

center of Europe, and set the fashion and provided the material for imaginative literature in all the surrounding countries. The greatest name in the field of romance in the twelfth century is that of Christian of Troyes, who wrote at the court of Champagne, and the only one of his poems translated into English belongs to the time of Chaucer. Indeed, it is in the fourteenth century, after the flourishing time of this form of literature is past in France, that the best English specimens appear. One of them, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, written by an unknown author about 1360, may be taken as a representative.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. It is related that one New Year's Day there appeared before King Arthur and his knights in the hall of Camelot a gigantic knight clad in green and riding a green horse, who challenged any one present to exchange blows. Gawain took up the challenge and, agreeing to give opportunity for the return blow a year hence at the Green Chapel, he struck off his opponent's head with the giant's own ax. The Green Knight picked up his head, remounted his horse, and rode off. Next winter Gawain set out to keep his appointment, and on Christmas Eve arrived at a beautiful castle. Here he is informed that the Green Chapel is near by, and is splendidly entertained. A great Christmas feast is given, and next morning his host sets off early to the hunt, leaving Gawain to be entertained by his lady; but before he goes he makes an agreement with the knight that on his return they shall exchange whatever of value each has gained during the day. The lady makes love to Gawain, who accepts a kiss. This he gives his host in the evening, and receives in return the spoil of the hunt. This occurs three times with the same result, except that the third time Gawain accepts from the lady and secretly retains a girdle which, she says, will make him invulnerable.

On New Year's Day Gawain is guided to the Green Chapel, where he hears the noise of an ax being ground. Shortly the giant appears, compliments Gawain on his faithfulness to

his tryst, and after two feints lets fall the ax on his neck. Gawain receives only a slight wound and now, having kept his bargain, he prepares to defend himself against further attack. But the Green Knight is no longer hostile, recognizes Gawain as the bravest of knights, and reveals himself as the host of the previous three days, who had planned the temptation by his wife as a test of Gawain's virtue and truth. Gawain declines an invitation to revisit the castle and returns to Camelot, where he confesses with shame his deceit with the girdle. His companions make light of it, and agree to commemorate the event with him by wearing ever after a green lace. Thus Gawain became more renowned than ever.

This poem rises above the general level of romances in many respects. These tended to be, to our taste at least, enormously long-winded, stuffed with commonplaces borrowed from a common stock, and often made ridiculous by crude exaggeration. But the poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* tells his story with rapidity, is original in his conception of character and delicate in moral feeling, and displays a general love of nature in the charming descriptions that adorn the narrative. This romance is one of the best told stories in all the medieval literature of Europe, and we cannot fail to regret that we do not know who wrote it.

Sir Thomas Malory. The earliest romances were written in verse, but prose versions soon began to appear. Towards the end of the Middle Ages it became common to compile large prose works assembling, not very systematically, all the main Arthurian stories, — stories of Merlin, Tristram, Lancelot, Percival, Galahad, the Holy Grail, and the rest, many of which had originally nothing to do with Arthur. The best English work of this type was written about 1480, long after the period dealt with in this chapter, by Sir Thomas Malory, an English knight who had fought in the French wars. Malory's *Morte Darthur* is important not only because it is the most comprehensive account of the Arthurian matter in our language, but

because it has become the chief source of the more modern poetical treatments of the subject, such as Tennyson's in the *Idylls of the King*. It is written in simple and vigorous prose, at times rising to a noble eloquence, and showing a spirit in sympathy with the best side of chivalry. A paragraph from the end of his account of the Quest of the Holy Grail will show something of his style and tone.

> And anon Sir Bors said to Sir Launcelot: Galahad, your own son, saluted you by me, and after you King Arthur and all the Court, and so did Sir Percivale, for I buried them with mine own hands in the city of Sarras. Also, Sir Launcelot, Galahad prayed you to remember of this unsyker world as ye behight him when ye were together more than half a year. This is true, said Launcelot; now I trust to God his prayer shall avail me. Then Launcelot took Sir Bors in his arms, and said: Gentle cousin, ye are right welcome to me, and all that ever I may do for you and for yours ye shall find my poor body ready at all times, while the spirit is in it, and that I promise you faithfully, and never to fail. And wit ye well, gentle cousin, Sir Bors, that ye and I will never depart in sunder whilst our lives may last. Sir, said he, I will as ye will.

We should bear clearly in mind that Malory's stories, like the other books about Arthur, are of no value as historical pictures of the time in which the events are supposed to occur. The Celtic Britons whom the real Arthur led were, it is true, Christians; but they were comparatively uncivilized, and had nothing of the artificial culture which prevails in the romances. Such historical value as they possess lies in the depiction of knightly society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and even that is less actual than ideal. It is best to put little stress upon the historical element, and to seek to find in these Arthurian tales the spiritual values of their glorification of courage, loyalty, and courtesy, and to enjoy them as works of imagination. The medieval period was one shadowed by war and pestilence, oppression and superstition, and its actual world offered little abiding satisfaction to the human spirit. But an idealistic aspiration for a better world inspired

Here foloweth the syxth boke of the noble and worthy prynce kyng Arthur.

How syr Launcelot and syr Lyonell departed fro the courte for to seke auentures/ & how syr Lyonell lefte syr Laũcelot slepynge & was taken. Capl'm.j.

None after that the noble & worthy kyng Arthur was comen fro Rome into Englande/all the knyghtes of the roũde table resorted vnto ẏ kyng and made many iustes and turneymentes/ & some there were that were good knyghtes/ whiche encreased so in armes and worshyp that they passed all theyr felowes in prowesse & noble dedes & that was well proued on many. But in especyall it was proued on syr Launcelot du lake. For in all turneymentes and iustes and dedes of armes/ bothe for lyfe and deth he passed all knyghtes & at no tyme he was neuer ouercomen but yf it were by treason or enchauntemeat. Syr Launcelot encreased so meruaylously in worshyp & honour/ wherfore he is the first knyght ẏ the frensshe booke maketh mencyon of/ after that kynge Arthur came from Rome/ wherfore quene Gueneuer had hym in grete fauour aboue all other knyghtes/ and certaynly he loued the quene agayne aboue all other ladyes and damoyselles all the dayes of his lyfe/ and for her he

i ii

A Page from Malory's "Morte Darthur," 1529

(Printed by Wynkyn de Worde)

these medieval knights and churchmen. In the crusades we can see the ideals of church and chivalry united in a wonderful though ineffectual effort to make the gospel and the sword prevail over heathendom. In the magnificent cathedrals that were built in France and England we see the noblest expression of religion in medieval art. The romances of knightly adventure represent the effort of the imagination to glorify the actual by means of the ideal. They sought to ennoble as well as to entertain.

English Romances. There are some romances which deal with distinctly English themes, rather than with the legends of the Britons. They mostly are based on incidents from the period of the Scandinavian invasions of Britain and Ireland; and, in spite of the fact that the versions that have come down to us have passed through a French intermediary, the specifically English quality is still very perceptible. The oldest is *The Geste of King Horn*, written in English about 1250; *Havelok the Dane*, *Guy of Warwick*, and *Bevis of Hampton*, all date from about 1300. These romances are much less elegant, courtly, and chivalrous than those of the Arthurian cycle, and they seem to have been composed for popular rather than aristocratic audiences. They show a strong patriotic appeal in such incidents as the fight between Guy and the Danish giant, and often an English relish of purely muscular prowess. They also appeared later in prose forms; and by the time of Shakespeare they formed the favorite reading of the London apprentice.

The Matter of France. The poems on Charlemagne and his peers are of immense importance for French literature, but though a number of them were translated into English, they do not compare in importance with the groups already discussed. With regard to them and the romances on classical and other themes, it is chiefly important that we keep them in mind along with the matters of Britain and England, in trying to form an idea of the nature and variety of the imaginative

nourishment on which our medieval ancestors fed. The Middle Ages were a time of abundant leisure, enormous credulity, and great willingness to pass from the troublous and sordid world of every day to ideal regions. We have seen that these long drawn out stories of quest and adventure not only served to fill the leisure hours, but, with their stress on dauntless courage, undying fidelity to lord and lady, and immaculate honor and courtesy, had a profound influence on the standards of conduct which their hearers sought to maintain. They were not only the novels of the Middle Ages; they were in some sort also the allies of the sermon.

Miscellaneous Literature

Religious and Moral Works. But the church did not leave teaching to the writers of romance. The early English period abounds in religious works like the versified sermons of Orm, a contemporary of Layamon's, in his *Ormulum,* and the *Ancren Riwle,* a rule for female hermits. Piety was taught more interestingly in great numbers of legends of saints, which combined satisfaction of the taste for the marvelous with adoration of the heroes and heroines of the church. The minor points in behavior were taught in so-called "Conduct-Books," — where rules were given for the details of everyday life from table manners and the care of the nails and teeth to obedience to parents and a reverent attitude in church. Sometimes these were put into rime:

> Drop nat thy breast with sauce ne with potage;
> Bring no knives unskoured to the table;
> Fil nat thy spone, lest in the cariage
> It went beside,[1] which were nat comendable.
> Be quyke and ready, meek and servicable,
> Well-awaiting to fulfill anon
> What that thy soverayne commaundith to be done.

[1] it should spill over.

Shorter Narratives. The medieval preacher was fond of illustrating his sermons with anecdotes, and among the entertaining works of the period the collections of so-called "exempla," made for the convenience of priests, are not the least notable. At times the love of a good story seems to have got the better of the desire to improve the audience, so that some of the tales seem to us less than pious. In fact, there are cases where the same tale appears in a collection of "exempla" and also in the very doubtful company of "fabliaux." A fabliau was a versified short story, often dealing with contemporary life, and tending to satirize in broad terms the sins and weaknesses of medieval society. Most of the plots of the fabliau, before they were given literary form, must have circulated orally, as they have the marks of the kind of story that would be exchanged by travelers round an inn fire. In their coarse humor as well as in their everyday settings they form a strong contrast to the remoteness of the romances, and are important as filling in and supplementing our picture of the mental life of the men of that time.

Songs. Among forms of medieval entertainment we should not forget music. The long lists of instruments in the romances indicate that music was much cultivated, and we have a sheaf of surviving songs. Some of these are religious — largely prayers and addresses to the Virgin Mary; but many are secular love songs, the best of them with no small charm. A third class of songs are political — songs of victory, floutings of the enemy, satires of social conditions; things of slight literary value, but forming footnotes and illustrations to heavier historical works.

Summary. Thus we see the Anglo-Norman period to have been by no means totally barren of literature in the reviving English tongue. Varied as were the kinds of writing attempted in the three hundred years following the Norman Conquest, there is one of dominant importance — the romance; and among the romances those which should most hold our interest and

attention are the group centering in King Arthur, with its beginnings in Geoffrey and Layamon, its culmination in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and its summing up in the book of Sir Thomas Malory.

In such stories we find the beginning of the great stream of modern romantic narrative. It is a long progress — the development from these old fantasies to the pictures of real life in the modern novel; but for over six hundred years one feature has persisted — the central position of the passion of love. This importance given to romantic love marks one of the chief differences between medieval and classical literature, and one of the chief resemblances between medieval and modern. However changed the treatment has become, it is safe to say that modern fiction, and through it modern life, is still under the influence of the age of chivalry.

Guides to Study

Reading. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, translated by K. G. T. Webster (Riverside Literature Series) or J. L. Weston (Nutt), selections from Malory's Morte Darthur, such as are edited in the Pocket Classics (Macmillan) or Athenæum Press. Extracts from other writers can be found in collections such as those of Manly or Newcomer, or Weston's Chief Middle English Poets.

Further reading in this period might include the Song of Roland (Riverside Literature Series), Aucassin and Nicolette (trans. A. Lang, Crowell), Mabinogion (Everyman's Library), Nibelungenlied (Everyman's and Bohn's Libraries).

Modern works illustrating the period include Tennyson's Idylls of the King, Bulwer-Lytton's Harold, Tennyson's Harold and Becket, Kingsley's Hereward the Wake, Kipling's Puck of Pook's Hill, Crawford's Via Crucis (Second Crusade), Hewlett's Richard Yea and Nay, Scott's Talisman and Ivanhoe, Porter's Scottish Chiefs, Bulfinch's Age of Chivalry, and the appropriate chapters from the general histories already mentioned. For the history of the Middle Ages in Europe, see J. H. Robinson's History of Western Europe, or Lynn Thorndike's History of Medieval Europe (Houghton, Mifflin Co.)

Questions. Answer the three questions proposed in the first paragraph of the chapter. What can you tell of France under the Emperor

Charlemagne? Who were the Normans? What did they have in common with the Danes and Anglo-Saxons? Describe their conquest of England. What is meant by feudalism? How was the system applied to England? To what extent did it prevail on the Continent? What forces tended to unify European literature in the Middle Ages? How did the Norman Conquest affect English life? In what novel have you found a picture of the relations of Norman and Saxon? What changes occurred in the English language in the three centuries following the Conquest? How was the vocabulary enriched? Give examples. What languages were written in England in the thirteenth century? When did English gain permanent ascendancy?

What are the chief characteristics of the medieval romance? What was its audience? What is meant by calling chivalry an ideal? a system? a profession? What part did women play in chivalry? What are the chief cycles of romances? How does the Arthurian legend begin? In what English book does it first appear? Why was this book named after a Roman? Who was the greatest writer of romances in French? Outline the story of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. In what respect is this poem above the general level of romance? Who was Malory? When did he live? Why is he included in this chapter? Select two passages from the Morte d'Arthur illustrative of his spirit and his style. What romances deal with English heroes? Distinguish them from those of the Arthurian cycle. What is meant by "the matter of France"? Discuss the relation between the life pictured in the romances and the actual life of the Middle Ages.

Name two religious works in the period. Explain exemplum, fabliau. What were the chief themes of the songs of the time? What medieval influences can be traced in modern literature?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. The Charm of Nicolette. A Wandering Minstrel. The Education of a Knight. The Quest of the Grail. A Medieval Tournament. A Norman Baron and a Saxon Churl. Language in England in the Twelfth Century. A Story from the Nibelungenlied. Charles the Great. The Modern and Medieval Meanings of Chivalry. Lancelot in Malory and Tennyson. Gawain in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and in Tennyson. A Medieval Cathedral.

Chronological Table, 1066–1360

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
		1066. Norman Conquest.
	1071–1127. William of Poitiers, first troubadour.	1095. First Crusade.
1100–1200. Latin historians.		1100. Henry I.
1154. End of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle.*	1050–1200. Chansons de Geste.	
	1160? Benoît de Ste. More.	
1147. Geoffrey of Monmouth.	1140?–1190? Chrestien de Troyes.	
		1154. Henry II (House of Anjou).
	1155? Wace, *Brut.*	
1205? Layamon, *Brut.*	1200? Marie de France, Lays.	1170. Murder of Thomas à Becket.
	Nibelungenlied.	1189. Richard I.
1215? *Ormulum.*	Wolfram von Eschenbach.	Third Crusade.
	Poema del Cid.	1199. John.
1200–1300. Metrical Romances.		1215. Magna Carta.
1237. *Ancren Riwle.*	1240? Guillaume de Lorris began *Roman de la Rose.*	1216. Henry III.
	1265. Dante born.	
	1274. Thomas Aquinas died.	1272. Edward I.
	1280. Jean de Meung, *Roman de la Rose.*	
	1304. Petrarch born.	1307. Edward II.
1300–1400. Miracle Plays.	1313. Boccaccio born.	
	1321. Dante died.	
1325? Gower born.	1337. Froissart born.	1338. Hundred Years' War begun.
1330? Langland born.		
1340? Chaucer born.	1350. Boccaccio, *Decameron.*	1346. Battle of Crécy.
1360? *Gawain and the Green Knight.* *Pearl.*		1349. Black Death.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF CHAUCER, 1350–1485

The Hundred Years' War. The Peasants' Revolt.

Contemporaries of Chaucer. *Piers Plowman*. Wyclif. Mandeville. Gower.

Geoffrey Chaucer. Life. Allegorical Poems. *The Legend of Good Women*. *Troilus*. *The Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer's Language and Meter. Qualities of Chaucer's Poetry. Chaucer's Successors.

The Scottish Chaucerians. *The Bruce* and *The Wallace*. James I of Scots. Robert Henryson. Dunbar, Douglas, and Lindsay.

The Wars of the Roses. The Introduction of Printing. Caxton.

The Hundred Years' War. During the years between 1337 and 1453 there went on a series of conflicts between England and France, known collectively as the Hundred Years' War. The French were trying to regain control of their own country, the English to retain their dominion over the western half of it. Some of the most notable victories in English history were won in this war — Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; and at one point the English king was crowned at Paris. But in the end the French, aided by Joan of Arc, got back most of their territory; and England's chief gain was in the knitting together of the Norman and Saxon elements in the population, and in the growth of an English national feeling. The reëstablishment of the English language already mentioned was one of the results of this growth and of the abandonment of the attempt to make England a great continental power.

The Peasants' Revolt. But though Norman knight and English yeoman fought side by side in the fields of France, there was far from complete union at home. Military glory did little for the welfare of the laborer who tilled the soil, and on several occasions the misery and discontent of the poor goaded them

into open rebellion. On one of these occasions they were led by John Ball, whose saying

> When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?

was the motto of a kind of medieval socialism. Later, in the reign of Richard II, the peasants, revolting under Wat Tyler, seized for a time the city of London and killed some prominent noblemen, and in 1450 Jack Cade led the rising pictured in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Part II.

Contemporaries of Chaucer

Piers Plowman. Something of the social conditions underlying this unrest is revealed in the remarkable poem of *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, written in alliterative verse which is a modification of the Old English meter. This work, which exists in three versions dated respectively 1362, 1376–7, and 1393–8, is traditionally ascribed to an obscure William Langland; but the later revisions may well be by different authors. It is partly a satire, attacking the vices and weaknesses of the various classes of society; partly an allegory, representing symbolically the main forces working for good or evil in the world. Thus in the opening sections a lady who personifies Holy Church explains to the dreamer who tells the story the significance of Lady Meed, the personification of what we to-day call "Graft." But much of the poem is direct description or plain preaching. In form it is a series of visions showing forth in imperfect symbols the way of salvation for society and for the individual. The vigor of the author's portraiture of the sins of the time may be seen in his famous sketch of the seven deadly sins, especially in that of the glutton. In the following extract the language is modernized, but the meter is substantially preserved.

There was laughing and cheating and "Let go the cup!"
Bargains and beverages began to arise,
And they sat so till evensong, and sang some while,
Till Glutton had gulped down a gallon and a gill.

* * * * * * *

He had no strength to stand, till he his staff had;
Then 'gan he to go like a gleeman's hitch,
Sometimes to the side, sometimes to the rear,
Like a man laying lines to catch birds with.
When he drew to the door, then his eyes grew dim,
He stumbled at the threshold, and threw to the ground.
Clement the cobbler caught Glutton by the middle,
And to lift him up he laid him on his knees;
And Glutton was a great churl, and grim in the lifting,
And coughed up a caudle in Clement's lap,
That the hungriest hound in Hertfordshire
Durst not lap that loathsomeness, so unlovely it smacketh;
So that, with all the woe in the world, his wife and his wench
Bore him home to his bed, and brought him therein.
And after all this surfeit, a sickness he had,
That he slept Saturday and Sunday, till sun went to rest.
Then he waked from his winking, and wiped his eyes;
The first word that he spake was, "Where is the cup?"

Passus V.

Though sympathetic to the sufferings of the honest laborer, the author of *Piers Plowman* is no leveler. His remedy for social ills is to be found in each man's doing his duty in his own sphere of life, the peasant sticking to his plow, the knight keeping down the game that destroyed the crops and defending his dependents and the church, the priest giving an example to his flock, the king administering justice. In religion the stress is placed upon simple faith and obedience to the words of Christ rather than upon ecclesiastical forms, penance, and indulgences. The author is more reformer than artist, but the depth of his feeling and the keenness of his vision lift his words above mere preaching and controversy into the sphere of literature. With him begins the use of imaginative literature for social reformation.

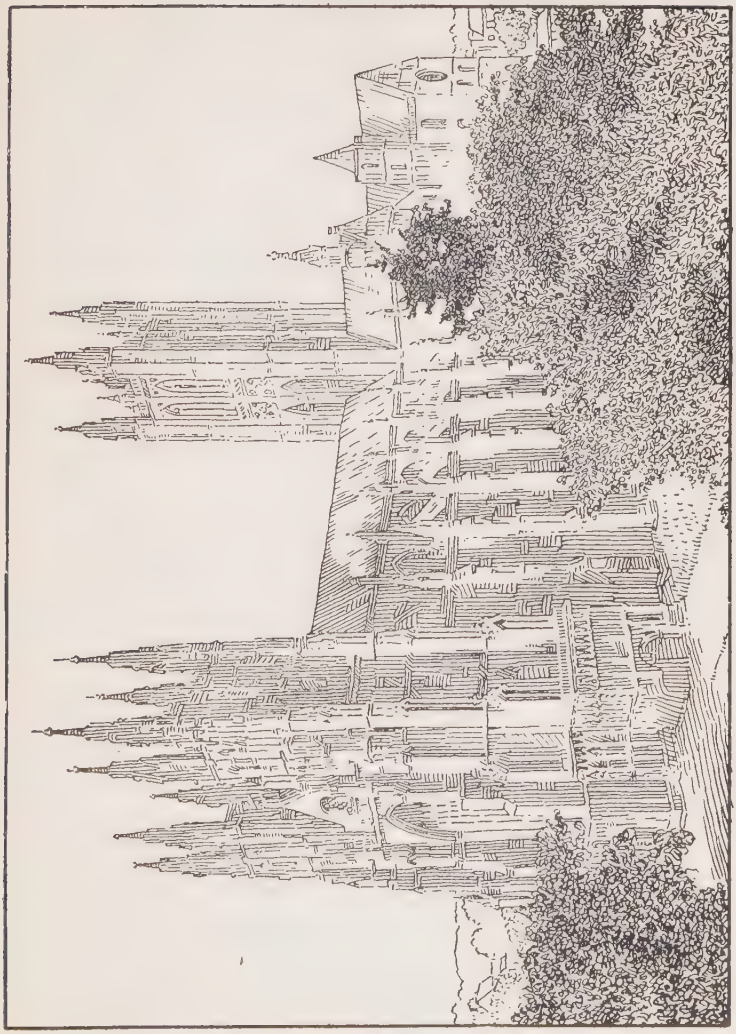
Wyclif. The need for social and religious reform is shown also in the tracts and sermons of the great reformer, John Wyclif, whose followers, the Lollards, may be regarded as a kind of Protestants before the Reformation. But Wyclif's greatest service to literature was his superintendence of the first complete English translation of the Bible, 1384; a work which, apart from its religious influence, is important for the history of English prose. A short passage will show how far it approaches the Biblical style of our later versions.

Yee ben salt of the erthe; that yif the salt shal vanyshe awey, wherynne shal it be saltid? To no thing it is worth over, no bot that it be sent out, and defoulid of men. Ye ben light of the world; a citee putt on an hill may nat be hid; nether men tendyn a lanterne, and putten it undir a busshel, but on a candilstike, that it yeve light to alle that ben in the hous. So shyne youre light before men, that thei see youre good werkis, and glorifie youre Fadir that is in hevens.

Matthew, V.

Mandeville. Before leaving the prose of the period we may notice shortly an extraordinary work ascribed to a shadowy Sir John Mandeville. The *Travels* which go under this name appear also in Latin and French, the latter language being probably the original. The book is put forth as a guide for pilgrims to the Holy Land, and professes to be an account of the author's own experiences, though as a matter of fact it is compiled from a variety of books and contains much that is fabulous. The style is clear and extremely readable, and the very absurdity of many of his accounts makes the matter highly entertaining. It affords further evidence of the credulity of the people of the Middle Ages and of the extent to which they lived with a consciousness of the marvelous and the supernatural.

Gower. Chaucer's friend and fellow poet, John Gower, wrote poems in French and Latin as well as English, and treated of such favorite subjects as the peasants' revolt, the seven deadly sins, and the plan of salvation. His English poem *Confessio*



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Amantis (The Confessions of a Lover) is a vast collection of tales, drawn from classical, French, and English sources, arranged to illustrate the deadly sins, and placed in the framework of a confession made by a lover to the priest of Venus. This allegorical setting follows a common medieval type, the court of love; the chief interest of the work to-day is in the stories. Though not comparable to Chaucer as a poet, Gower can yet tell his tale in a smooth and business-like if somewhat undistinguished fashion. There is little attempt at the drawing of character, little beauty of line or phrase; only a keen interest in incident, and, to a less extent, in the moral lesson. He would be a very prominent figure in fourteenth century literature had he not had the misfortune to be the contemporary of a great artist who overshadowed him.

Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?–1400)

Life. The greatest name in our literature before the age of Shakespeare is that of Geoffrey Chaucer. He was born in London about 1340, the son of a wine merchant. At this time there were two ways of education open to well-to-do youths, the university, which was chiefly for the training of priests, and service as page in a nobleman's household. Chaucer chose the latter and was attached to the service of Edward III's son Lionel, Duke of Clarence. He went to France at nineteen on one of the campaigns of the Hundred Years' War, was taken prisoner, and ransomed by the king. On his return he became squire in the royal household and married a maid of honor to the queen. Several times he was sent to the Continent on diplomatic business, two of his missions taking him to Italy, with important results for his literary studies. At home he occupied various offices under the government, most important being that of Comptroller of Customs at London. He was elected member of Parliament for Kent in 1386. Yet with all these positions, his financial standing does not seem to have been

secure, and when his patron, John of Gaunt, was out of power he was in straits for money. One of his latest poems was a *Complaint to his Empty Purse*, addressed to the new king, Henry IV, Gaunt's son, in 1399. He died in 1400 and was buried in Westminster Abbey, the first occupant of "The Poets' Corner."

It thus appears that Chaucer was much more than a man of letters and a student. He saw service in war and diplomacy, was a courtier, an official, and a politician, and in the course of his life had opportunity to come into contact with men of all classes and in several countries. The result of this varied experience is seen in the great variety of kinds of people represented in his poems, in the astonishing breadth of his sympathies, and in the sanity and balance of his judgment.

Allegorical Poems. As was inevitable for a court poet in his day, Chaucer entered literature by the French door. The earliest of his works which has come down to us is the fragment of a translation of the famous French allegory, the *Roman de la Rose*, written in the thirteenth century by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung. This poem is the allegorical representation of a love affair, in which the lady is symbolized by a rose-bud which the lover desires to pluck, but which is kept beyond his reach for many thousand lines by various figures symbolizing such forces as her modesty and shyness, the opposition of her parents, jealousy, and envy, while he is aided by Good Looks, Idleness, Riches, and the like, and advised by Nature. The part of the poem written by the second author contains a great variety of matters, such as social satire, remote from the main allegory; and Chaucer, like hundreds of other medieval authors, quotes the poem in all sorts of connections throughout his works. It was the most popular and influential poetical work of the whole period.

The allegorical method exemplified by the *Roman de la Rose* continued to be employed by Chaucer through the first half of his career. There is a touch of it in the early *Book of*

the Duchess, which he wrote to commemorate the death of Blanche, first wife of his patron, John of Gaunt. It occurs also in the *Parliament of Birds*, a poem of considerable humor, in which three young eagles plead before the goddess Nature their claims to the possession of a young female eagle, in the presence of a great assemblage of the fowls of the earth. This is supposed to represent the wooing of Anne of Bohemia by Richard II of England and two of his continental rivals. The *House of Fame* is more or less allegorical throughout. Chaucer is borne by the golden eagle through the air to the palace of the goddess Fame, the conception of whom he borrowed largely from Virgil. He watches groups of petitioners come before the goddess and pray for good or bad reputation or obscurity, and receive sentences entirely inconsistent with one another and with the requests and the deserts of the petitioners — thus exhibiting the arbitrary and irrational nature of fame. Later he visits the House of Rumor and sees how false and half false news are produced. In this poem the effect of his Italian studies begins to be seen in hints and passages drawn from Dante.

The Legend of Good Women. The allegorical element in *The Legend of Good Women* is confined to the Prologue, in which the poet, who has gone into the fields in May to adore his favorite flower, the daisy, is found by the god of love, accompanied by the Greek heroine, Alcestis, and a great train of ladies. The deity reproaches him for having written poems like his translation of the *Roman de la Rose* and *Troilus*, where women are pictured as faithless in love; but, through the intercession of Alcestis, he is pardoned on condition that he compose a series on women who were true to their vows. The rest of the poem, which, like *The House of Fame*, is unfinished, consists of short accounts of eight notable ladies who died for love, such as Cleopatra, Dido, and Lucrece. The women are "good" not from the point of view of ordinary morality or Christianity, but from that of the kingdom of Love; and the whole poem is called a legend,

since it is a sort of parallel to the collections of saints' legends, the women being regarded as "saints of Cupid."

These poems illustrate fairly enough some of the commoner uses of allegory in medieval literature. Allegory is the art of double meaning, and in poetry it usually takes the form of a story underneath which is hidden a second significance, usually didactic or satirical. It is used much in the Bible, the parables of the New Testament being the best examples. The early church fathers employed it freely, and it may be called the favorite form of the Middle Ages, only the romance rivaling it in popularity. It is an elaboration of the symbolism that runs through all medieval art and religion, and no form of expression escaped its influence. Thus in making so many of his works allegorical, Chaucer was only following the fashion of his time.

Troilus. The poem which most offended the god of love was Chaucer's treatment of an episode belonging to the medieval version of the story of Troy. This famous tale was known to the Middle Ages, not through Homer, but through various Latin and French accounts that tended to favor the Trojans rather than the Greeks. A French poet of the twelfth century, Benoît de Sainte More, had made a chivalrous romance out of the love of Priam's son Troilus for the daughter of a priest, only the merest hints of which are found in earlier versions; and the Italian Boccaccio had in his *Filostrato* greatly elaborated the affair. It was chiefly on the basis of Boccaccio's work that Chaucer wrote his long poetical novel, describing with great minuteness the wooing of Cressida by Troilus, her yielding, and her later desertion of Troilus for Diomede after she had been forced to follow her father to the Greek camp.

So far the poems by Chaucer we have described were largely imitative of other authors, Latin, French, and Italian, though they bore abundant evidences of Chaucer's individual quality and literary skill. *Troilus*, too, is a borrowed story; but in the manner of telling it, especially in the drawing of character

and the minute description of the changing moods of the lovers and of the gradualness with which Troilus wins the lady, he added so much of his own that it may be regarded as his most original production. Not until we come to the modern novel do we find such subtle and delicate discrimination, or interest in personality so heavily outweighing mere incident.

The Canterbury Tales. The culmination of Chaucer's work as a poet is found in his great unfinished collection of stories called *The Canterbury Tales.* The *Prologue* to this, the artistic masterpiece of the Middle Ages in England, describes how the poet, moved by the passion for wandering that comes with the spring, found himself at the Tabard Inn in Southwark, across the Thames from London, bound on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. Here he meets nine and twenty other pilgrims setting out with the same purpose. At the suggestion of Harry Bailey, the host of the inn, they agree to beguile the journey, which is to be made on horseback, by story-telling. Each is to tell two stories going and two returning, the teller of the best story is to be given a supper at the end, and the host is to be director and judge of the contest. Chaucer lived to write only twenty-four tales, and of these two are unfinished.

But the *Prologue* does much more than provide a framework for the tales. It contains in the sketches of the various pilgrims the most vivid picture of typical medieval figures that has come down to us. In social position the pilgrims range from knight and squire and prioress, through gentleman farmer and substantial tradesman, to drunken cook and humble plowman. There are a doctor and a lawyer, a monk and a friar, two nuns and two priests, a country parson, and a summoner, a sailor, a miller, a carpenter, a yeoman, and an Oxford scholar. Finally in the center of the group is the lusty Wife of Bath, notable for her cloth-making, but more notable for her five husbands and her eagerness for more. We are shown these people as they would have appeared on the road, their

dress and their features, with often a bit of their personal history. We are told of the knight's prowess and the squire's accomplishments in love and arms, music and poetry; of the prioress's dainty table-manners and tender heart; of the miller's thick skull and the wart on his nose; of the summoner's blotched face and the pardoner's thin hair and squeaky voice; of the doctor's skill and the monk's favorite dishes. Among the crowd of worldlings two idealists stand out: the parson,

> For Cristes love and his apostles twelve
> He taught, but first he followed it himselve;

and the Oxford clerk,

> And gladly wold he lerne, and gladly teche.

No literature in Europe could at that time show such a procession of typical portraits, so concisely and skillfully drawn, so varied and representative, contributing so richly to our actual knowledge of our ancestors as they looked to one another. Here is part of the description of the Oxford scholar:

> A clerk ther was of Oxenford also,
> That unto logik haddé longe y-go.
> As lené was his hors as is a raké,
> And he nas nat right fat, I undertaké;
> But lokéd holwe, and ther-to soberly.
> Ful thredbar was his overest courtepy;[1]
> For he had geten him yet no beneficé,
> Ne was so worldly for to have offycé.
> For him was lever[2] have at his beddes heed
> Twenty bokés, clad in blak or reed,
> Of Aristotle and his philosophyé,
> Than robés riche, or fithele,[3] or gay sautryé.[4]
> But al be that he was a philosophre,[5]
> Yet haddé he but litel gold in cofre;
> But al that he mighte of his freendés henté,[6]
> On bokés and on lerninge he it spenté,

[1] outermost cloak. [2] he would rather. [3] fiddle. [4] psaltery, dulcimer. [5] The alchemists, who pretended to change baser metals to gold, were also called philosophers. [6] get.

And bisily gan for the soulés preyé
Of hem that yaf him wher-with to scoleyé.[1]
Of studie took he most cure[2] and most hedé.
Noght o word spak he moré than was nedé,
And that was seyd in forme and reverencé,
And short and quik, and ful of hy sentencé.[3]
Sowninge in[4] moral vertu was his speché,
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teché.[5]

The stories which the pilgrims tell are so well suited to their characters that, by means of them and the snatches of conversation and incident that link them together, the process of characterization is carried on through the whole work. The knight begins with a chivalrous romance connected with the cycle dealing with the history of Thebes, telling the story of two friends in love with the same lady. The Prioress tells a pathetic tale of the murder of a little choirboy who sang praises to the Virgin; the Monk pours forth a series of *exempla* illustrating the fall of men of great estate, until the host calls a halt to the dreary monotony; the swindling Pardoner shows how he illustrates his sermon on the love of money by the impressive tale of Death and the three gamblers; the Wife of Bath, after a long introductory discussion of matrimony, tells a story, elsewhere connected with the Arthurian cycle, to show what women most desire — their own way. This the Clerk of Oxford answers with the story already told by Boccaccio in Italian and Petrarch in Latin, of the patient Griselda, a wife who obeyed her husband in all things. Thus, though some of the tales had been written independently before the whole work was planned, most of them are thoroughly in character, and keep before us vividly the drama of the pilgrims' ride. Nearly all the kinds of medieval narrative are represented here, and in nearly all Chaucer surpasses his predecessors. Romance and lay, *fabliau*, *exemplum*, and saint's legend, beast fable, and sermon and satire, all are here.

[1] study. [2] care. [3] meaning. [4] tending towards.
[5] The dotted *e* (é) is to be pronounced like short *ĕ*.

Chaucer's Language and Meter. Although, as we have seen, Chaucer began to write under the inspiration of French models and later drew heavily from Italian and Latin as well, his language is English. There is little doubt, indeed, that his

CANTERBURY PILGRIMS

(*From MS. in British Museum*)

production of so much excellent literature was an important factor in reëstablishing English as the literary language of the island, though as we have seen there were political forces tending in the same direction. But the spoken English of the time consisted of a number of varying dialects, and Chaucer's

preëminence told powerfully in making the dialect of London the standard for future writers and the parent of our modern speech.

The French influence exerted since the Conquest had now produced its full effect: French literary forms had been adopted and imitated in great numbers and French words had been embodied in the vocabulary to a considerable extent in the case of Chaucer himself. The clash of the two languages, along with the normal process of development, had worn away the Anglo-Saxon inflections to a handful, such as the signs of the possessive and of the plural of nouns, the endings of the present indicative and the past and past-participle of the verbs. These have remained to our day, but Chaucer's English shows other remnants of Anglo-Saxon grammar in the frequency of the letter *e* at the end of words which in Old English ended with a vowel or with *-an*, *-en*, or *-on*. This final *e* is sounded lightly, regularly at the end of the line, and usually elsewhere unless it is followed by a vowel or *h*. It is only in modern times that his scrupulousness in this use of *e* has been recognized; for three or four centuries he was read by men who thought that these *e*'s were accidental and who consequently thought Chaucer's meter irregular. We now see that he had a very correct ear, and that the fact that with him a much larger number of words ended in vowels than in our language, contributed greatly to the fluidity of his verse. This can be seen by reading the passage quoted above first sounding the dotted *e*'s, and then omitting them.

Chaucer's vowels were pronounced more like modern German than modern English vowels; there was less difference in the consonants. Some study is necessary to approximate to the sound that Chaucer wished his verse to produce, but even without linguistic knowledge it needs only a small use of the glossary to enable any one to read his poems with pleasure.

Qualities of Chaucer's Poetry. Few poets are capable of giving so much pure delight as he. His fresh descriptions of nature, his keen observation of men, his abounding high

spirits, his sly humor and delicate pathos, his full appreciation of the joy of living, his skill in the choice of words and in the handling of line and stanza, — all these combine to make him a great artist and one to be enjoyed by all sorts and conditions of men.

Chaucer's Successors. Though the poets of the century following the death of Chaucer commonly mention Gower and him in the same breath and seem to regard them as equally great, it is Chaucer's influence that dominates English poetry for the rest of the Middle Ages. Occleve, a minor poet of the beginning of the fifteenth century, professed strong personal attachment to his master, and probably did his best to write like him; but he deserves our gratitude chiefly because he preserved on the margin of one of his manuscripts a portrait of Chaucer that may have been drawn from life. John Lydgate, monk of Bury, is the most prolific of all the Chaucerians. Writing from the end of the fourteenth century till past the middle of the fifteenth, he attempted nearly all the kinds of verse composition then in fashion. Though in his own day his reputation almost equaled that of his great predecessor, the ordinary reader to-day finds him hopelessly long-winded and dull.

The Scottish Chaucerians

The Bruce and The Wallace. While in England Chaucer's influence affected only a group of men whose verse was more notable for quantity than for quality, in Scotland he provided inspiration for work of a very different rank. Scotland, a poorer country and one much harassed by the wars in which she strove to maintain her independence against her powerful neighbor, lagged behind England in culture and produced little literature before the time of Chaucer. In the end of the fourteenth century John Barbour celebrated in his *Bruce* the achievements of the Scottish king who defeated the English at Bannockburn; and nearly a century later, an unknown author,

sometimes identified with a shadowy minstrel called Blind Harry, did a similar service to the less fortunate hero, Sir William Wallace. Both are more distinguished for the fervor of their patriotism than the quality of their poetry.

James I of Scots. But the real Chaucerian school in Scotland begins with *The King's Quair*, that is, quire or book, written by James I of Scotland to celebrate the lady he had won for his queen at the end of a long captivity at the English court. The tragic romance of this king's career, so splendidly narrated by the modern poet Rossetti in his ballad of *The King's Tragedy*, combines with the genuine beauty and charm of his own poem to render him one of the most interesting of Chaucer's disciples.

Henryson. In originality, however, he is surpassed by Robert Henryson, who, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, continued Chaucer's *Troilus* in his *Testament of Cressida*. This poem, in which for her blasphemy against the god of love the faithless Cressida is smitten with leprosy and dies repentant in a lazar house, shows a fine command of language and meter and a powerful dramatic quality that entitles it to be called the finest single poem written in Britain between Chaucer and Spenser. Its merit has been somewhat obscured by the fact that, like the other Scottish poetry of the time, it is written in the Northern dialect. Henryson wrote a number of shorter poems, notable among them being thirteen fables, which for their interest as stories, their vividness, and their humor, have no rival among the thousands of fables written in the Middle Ages save Chaucer's own *Tale of the Cock and the Fox* told by the Nun's Priest in *The Canterbury Tales*.

Dunbar, Douglas, and Lindsay. A little later than Henryson, William Dunbar entertained the court of James IV of Scotland by his brilliant satires and his astonishing mastery of the forms of verse, and Gavin Douglas by his translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, the first complete version made in Britain. Scottish

poetry turns mainly to satire in the work of Sir David Lindsay, who is chiefly remembered for a lively dramatic production, *The Satire of the Three Estates*, which is not only important as an interesting example of the form of play known as the morality, but is valuable for its picture of social and political conditions. Thus we may close the survey of this period with the work of a man who was to Scotland to some degree what the author of *Piers Plowman* was to England, the describer and the would-be reformer of the evils that disfigured the society of his time. It is characteristic of English literature that it keeps returning in age after age from the realms of pure imagination to the stern facts of the actual world, that it always tempers romance with realism.

The Wars of the Roses. The reader will have observed the striking contrast between the wealth of English literature in the fourteenth century, the century of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Piers Plowman*, Gower, and Chaucer, and the poverty of the fifteenth, whose representative figure was the prolific but uninspired Lydgate. He will also have noted that the decline of English literature almost coincides with the rise of the Scots. The reasons for these changes are complex and some of them obscure, but one important factor is to be found in the political history of the time. With the death of the great king Henry V in 1422, the English throne descended to his infant son Henry VI, and the chief power fell into the hands of the great nobles, who intrigued jealously among themselves. In a few years all the conquests of the Hundred Years' War were lost, and only Calais was left of the English dominions in France. Social discontent showed itself in a popular uprising under Jack Cade, which had a moment of success but achieved no permanent reforms. The new king as he grew up showed himself a weakling, and the house of York took the opportunity to push its claims against the reigning house of Lancaster. From 1450 till 1485 the country was convulsed by the wars between the two factions. Their choice of the red

and the white rose as badges gave the name of the Wars of the Roses to the struggle, the chief personages and episodes in which are familiar through the historical plays of Shakespeare. These wars were terminated by the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485, when Henry of Richmond overthrew the Yorkist Richard III, and, marrying Elizabeth of York, combined the claims of the two houses, and as Henry VII founded the new Tudor dynasty.

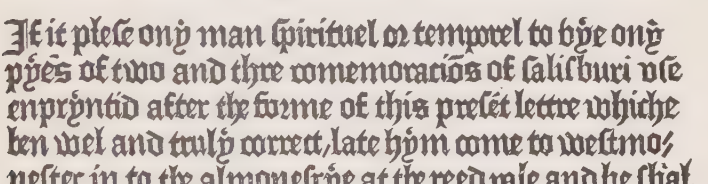
Printing in the Fifteenth Century

This period of civil war naturally was unfavorable to the peaceful pursuits of literature; and the killing of a large number of the great nobles deprived possible writers of the patronage which was their chief support. On the other hand, England's preoccupation with domestic quarrels left Scotland free from the threat of conquest, and the prosperity which came with comparative peace seems to have been one cause of her literary flourishing.

The Introduction of Printing. Hitherto we have been dealing with books which circulated solely through laboriously made manuscript copies. The making of these was often in the hands of individual scribes, but in the case of those for which there was greatest demand, such as church service books, a number of copies could be produced simultaneously in the writing

rooms or "scriptoria" of monasteries, where one reader dictated to a dozen or more monks. But at best the process was slow and costly, and a new chapter in the history of intellectual progress was opened by the invention of printing from movable types in Holland near the middle of the fifteenth century.

Caxton. The art of printing was brought to England by William Caxton, a silk merchant, who first practiced it in Bruges. In that city was issued, in 1474, the earliest book printed in the English language, the *Recuyell* (or summary)


If it plese ony man spirituel or temporel to bye ony pyes of two and thre comemoracios of salisburi vse enprynted after the forme of this prelet lettre whiche ben wel and truly correct, late hym come to westmo; nester in to the almonesrye at the reed pale and he shal haue them good chepe

Supplico stet cedula

CAXTON'S ADVERTISEMENT AT WESTMINSTER

of the Historyes of Troye, translated from the French by Caxton himself. In 1476 he came to Westminster and set up a printing establishment, the first dated book published here being Lord Rivers's translation of *The Dictes or sayinges of the philosophres* (1477). Until his death in 1491 Caxton continued to write, translate, and print with great industry, and the list of his publications gives a fair view of literature popular in the Middle Ages. It includes much of the work of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, the most widely known romances, a translation of the *Æneid,* the *Golden Legend* — the most famous collection of saints' lives — works on history and religion, and the culmination of the Arthurian romances, Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur.*

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the

step involved in the substitution of the printed book for manuscript. The vastly increased amount and speed of production and the lowering of price made possible a great expansion of education through books, and a corresponding growth in the diffusion of knowledge and ideas. In a later chapter we shall see what other forces combined with this to bring about in Europe a rebirth of learning.

Guides to Study

Reading. Piers Plowman, prologue and passus I and V, modernized by Neilson in the Riverside Literature Series, and in Everyman's Library. Specimens of Wyclif's Bible, Mandeville's Travels, and Gower's Confessio Amantis, in Snyder and Martin, in Manly, in Newcomer and Andrews, in Century Readings; of Gower in Ward's English Poets, and Neilson and Webster. Chaucer, Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, Nun's Priest's Tale, Knight's Tale, Pardoner's Tale, in editions by Skeat and in Neilson and Webster. The two former are found also in Riverside Literature Series, in the Lake English Classics, in Manly's English Poetry. Specimens of Chaucer are to be found in all the volumes of selections. Selections from Occleve, Lydgate, and the Scottish Chaucerians, in Neilson and Webster, especially opening and close of the King's Quair and Henryson's Fable of the Cock and the Fox. Rossetti's King's Tragedy in the Oxford Book of English Verse.

Pictures of the historical background of the 14th and 15th centuries are given in Shakespeare's Richard II, Henry IV, V, and VI, Richard III, and in Scott's Quentin Durward and Marmion. Miss Yonge's The Armourer's Prentice deals with the time of Henry VIII, and Mark Twain's The Prince and the Pauper, with Edward VI. S. R. Crockett's Black Douglas, Stevenson's Black Arrow, Converse's Long Will (Langland), Mark Twain's Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc. Read also Drayton's poem Agincourt. Jusserand's Wayfaring Life in the Fourteenth Century, and Lanier's The Boy's Froissart give an interesting background.

Questions. Who fought the Hundred Years' War? Where was it fought? Name some of the battles. What was each side seeking to accomplish? How did it end? What was the purpose of Piers Plowman? Who is supposed to have been the original author? What is a personification? What other works do you know in the form of a dream? What are the seven deadly sins? What is alliteration? Give examples of alliterative phrases. Is alliteration used in modern poetry?

Who were the Lollards? What did Wyclif write? What two kinds of influence did Wyclif's translation have? Point out differences between Wyclif's and King James's version (1) in words, (2) in grammar.

To what rank in life did Chaucer belong? Where did he get his training? Name the different kinds of activity in which he engaged. What was his relation to John of Gaunt? Where is Westminster Abbey? What is the theme of the Roman de la Rose? When was it written? Who is commemorated in The Book of the Duchess? What is the plan of the Parliament of Birds? What does it symbolize? What is the point of the satire in the House of Fame? Explain the title of the Legend of Good Women. Who were Alcestis, Cleopatra, Lucrece? Discuss "allegory" in literature. What is the most famous account of the war of Troy? How was the Troy story known in the Middle Ages? Who was Boccaccio? From what literatures did Chaucer borrow?

Explain the title, The Canterbury Tales. What are the contents of the Prologue? Who was Thomas à Becket? Who was Harry Bailey? Where is Southwark? Where is Canterbury? Name the pilgrims. What is the chief value of the Prologue? What is an exemplum? What was the cycle of Thebes? Who was Petrarch? What does 'Clerk' mean? How does Chaucer's language differ from Anglo-Saxon? from Modern English? What is an inflection? What qualities of Chaucer's poetry are illustrated in the passages you have read? How do we know what Chaucer looked like? What was Lydgate's profession? When did he write? Whom did he imitate?

Why did literature flourish late in Scotland? Who was Robert Bruce? Who celebrated him in poetry? Who was Sir William Wallace? Against whom did these men fight? Why? What does 'Quair' mean? When did Rossetti live? What king's tragedy did he describe? What was Henryson's profession? To what poem did he write a sequel? Which of Chaucer's pilgrims' stories did he retell? Who translated the Æneid into Scots? What are the Three Estates?

Who was Jack Cade? When did the Wars of the Roses end? Who invented printing? What was the first book printed in England? When? By whom?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. What is satire? What is allegory? Was the author of Piers Plowman a socialist? What is a fable? What is a fabliau? What interest does Piers Plowman have for the modern reader? Chaucer's humor? How does Chaucer make his characters vivid? The advantages of Chaucer's varied experience to his poetry. The associations of Canterbury. Chaucer's importance in the history of the English language. Chaucer's knight in a modern battle. The Prioress and the Suffragette: a dialogue.

Chronological Table, 1350–1485

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1356. Mandeville's *Travels* (in Eng.).		1356. Battle of Poitiers.
1360 (?) *Gawain and the Green Knight.* *The Pearl.* *Morte Arthure.*		
1362–3. Langland: *Vision of Piers Plowman*, A version.		
1369. Chaucer, *Book of the Duchess.*		
1370. Occleve born.		
	1374. Petrarch died.	
1375. Barbour's *Bruce.*	1375. Boccaccio died.	
		1377. Richard II.
1380. Wyclif's Bible.		1381. Peasants' Revolt.
1384. Wyclif died.		
1392. Gower, *Confessio Amantis.*		
1395. James I of Scotland born.		1399. Henry IV.
1400. Chaucer died.		
1408. Gower died.	1410. Froissart died.	
1412. Occleve, *Governail of Princes.*		
		1413. Henry V.
1415. Lydgate: *Troy book.*		1415. Agincourt.
		1422. Henry VI.
		1429. Joan of Arc raises siege of Orleans.
1430(?) King's Quair.		
1437. James I murdered.	1431. Villon born.	
		1436. French take Paris.
		1450. Jack Cade's Rebellion.
		1453. Fall of Constantinople.
		Gutenberg prints first (Mazarin) Bible.
		1453–85. Wars of the Roses.
1460. Dunbar born.		
John Skelton born.		1461. Edward IV.
	1469. Machiavelli born.	1469–1492. Lorenzo de Medici rules Florence.
1470 (?) *The Wallace.*		
1470. Malory died.		
	1471. Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi.*	
1474. Gavin Douglas born.	1474. Ariosto born.	1474. Caxton begins printing in England.
1475(?) Henryson's *Fables* and *Testament.*		1483. Richard III.
1485. Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* printed.		1485. Henry VII. End of Wars of the Roses

CHAPTER IV

POPULAR LITERATURE

The Traditional Ballad. Oral Literature. History of Ballads. Form and Content. *Edward. Robin Hood.* Ballads To-day.

The Medieval Drama. Folk Plays. Drama in the Church Service. Miracle Plays. Methods of Presentation. A Comic Episode. Morality Plays.

Summary.

The Traditional Ballad

Oral Literature. Literature, we have remarked, began before writing; it also continued independent of writing. The books we have so far discussed were written by more or less learned men, and were known only to that small section of the population who had learned to read and who had access to the costly manuscripts in which they were circulated. The practice of reading aloud was common, and this increased somewhat the range of a writer's public; and in the case of some of the romances, minstrels probably recited them to the common people, as well as in the halls of the nobles. But in general we have been speaking of a scholarly and aristocratic literature, composed for the wealthier classes by priests and professional writers, supported by noble patrons. The people as producers or enjoyers of literature have hardly appeared.

Yet the people had a literature of their own, not written but oral. From prehistoric times down to our own day, the non-literary multitude have cultivated song and story in a way of their own. This way is becoming less and less frequented, for cheap printing and the spread of popular education are rapidly bringing all classes in the civilized countries under the common influences of the printed word. Instead of the social

group entertaining one another by telling stories and by singing, as of old, the individual now reads his book or magazine or newspaper in a corner by himself. The practice of making and singing songs together is dying out; memories no longer carry the burden of lore handed down from earlier generations, and oral literature tends to disappear.

History of Ballads. Fortunately, before this process had gone too far, much of the literature of the people had been rescued and written down. The most important department of this folk literature, which includes also proverbs, charms, chanties, like those still heard among sailors, and the like, is the ballad. A ballad is a story told in song; and when we speak of the popular or traditional ballad we mean a certain type of short poem, originally accompanied by music (now often lost), which tells a story and which has been handed down by word of mouth among generations of the common people. Of these some three hundred have been preserved in various English and Scottish dialects, but many of them exist in a dozen or more often widely varying forms. No one knows who wrote them, and even if we did know, we could not tell how much of the original poem has survived. For any composition which descends from age to age by ear is constantly being modified according to the accidents of memory and taste, so that in the long run the traditional composition represents the feeling and taste, not of an individual author, but of the community that preserves it and hands it down. Nor can the ballads be dated, for the date of writing down is rather that of their death than of their birth, since with writing they cease to be oral literature and their form, hitherto fluid, becomes fixed. We treat of them at this point of our narrative, then, not because they belong especially to the end of the Middle Ages, but because the date of the introduction of printing is as convenient a place as any to speak of a kind of literature which grew up for the most part independently of either manuscript or printed book.

Form and Content. Edward. — The ballads are usually written in two or four line stanzas, often irregular in meter and defective in rime. They were frequently furnished with a refrain, sometimes appropriate and sometimes mere unintelligible syllables, which was probably sung by the whole company while one singer chanted the narrative stanzas. They deal with a great variety of subjects. Some are based on historical incidents of battles and border raids, some are supernatural tales of fairies and ghosts, many are romantic tales of love and death. A single example will show most of the stock characteristics. The ballad of *Edward* here quoted indicates rather than tells the story of a tragedy, the murder of a father by a son at the instigation of his mother, and the consequent remorse of the son. It is, as ballads often are, in dialogue, approaching an elementary dramatic form; it gives only the high points of the situation, letting the reader guess the details; and much of the power is due to what it does not say. In form, it shows the refrain, and the characteristic repetition of the same method of statement, slightly modified, in each successive stanza as the story unfolds. As a whole it represents the high-water mark of the art, half unconscious, of these narrative songs of the people.

EDWARD

"Why does your brand sae drap wi' blood,
Edward, Edward,
Why does your brand sae drap wi' blood,
And why sae sad gang[1] ye O?"
"O I ha'e killed my hawk sae good
Mither, mither,
O I ha'e killed my hawk sae good,
And I had nae mair[2] but he O."

"Your hawk's blood was never sae reid,[3]
Edward, Edward,
Your hawk's blood was never sae reid,
My dear son, I tell thee O."

[1] go. [2] more. [3] red.

"O I ha'e killed my reid-roan steed,
Mither, mither,
O I ha'e killed my reid-roan steed,
That erst was sae fair and free O."

"Your steed was auld, and ye ha'e got mair,
Edward, Edward,
Your steed was auld, and ye ha'e got mair,
Sum other dule [1] ye drie [2] O."
"O I ha'e killed my father dear,
Mither, mither,
O I ha'e killed my father dear,
Alas, and wae is me O!"

"And whatten [3] penance will ye drie for that,
Edward, Edward,
And whatten penance will ye drie for that?
My dear son, now tell me O."
"I'll set my feet in yonder boat,
Mither, mither,
I'll set my feet in yonder boat,
And I'll fare o'er the sea O."

"And what will ye do wi' your towers and your ha',
Edward, Edward,
And what will ye do wi' your towers and your ha',
That were sae fair to see O?"
"I'll let them stand till they down fa',
Mither, mither,
I'll let them stand till they down fa',
For here never mair maun [4] I be O."

"And what will ye leave to your bairns and your wife,
Edward, Edward,
And what will ye leave to your bairns and your wife,
When ye gang o'er the sea O?"
"The warld's room, let them beg through life,
Mither, mither,
The warld's room, let them beg through life,
For them never mair will I see O."

[1] grief. [2] suffer. [3] what. [4] must.

"And what will ye leave to your ain mither dear,
Edward, Edward,
And what will ye leave to your ain mither dear?
My dear son, now tell me O."
"The curse of hell frae [1] me sall ye bear,
Mither, mither,
The curse of hell frae me sall ye bear,
Sic counsels ye gave to me O."

Robin Hood. In speaking of *Beowulf*, reference was made to heroic lays which probably formed the material out of which the poet built up his epic. These lays differed from the ballads in being the composition of singers attached to the court; but we have in English a poem which seems to be the partially completed result of a combining of ballads into a long narrative somewhat similar to the result of the process observed in the Anglo-Saxon poem. A number of the English ballads deal with the feats and adventures of Robin Hood, a popular hero represented as living in the forests of the center of England in the time of Richard the Lion Heart (1177–1199). Robin Hood is an outlaw, surrounded by a band of archers, living on the deer in the greenwood and the spoil of rich travelers, and constantly hunted by the authorities, whom he constantly outwits. Although he is a kind of bandit, he holds our sympathy by the fact that he is a good sportsman, kind to the poor, chivalrous to women, and devout to the Virgin. He claims that he robs only the wealthy who rob others in less honorable fashion. The *Little Gest of Robin Hood* is a longer composition in which a number of his adventures are woven together into what has sometimes been called a popular epic, though it lacks the larger interest, national or racial, which is usually regarded as essential to the epic. But it is an entertaining narrative, full of interest not only because of the literary form, but as one more evidence of the attitude and spirit of the common people finding expression in a period when social conditions were in general unfavorable to them.

[1] from.

Ballads To-day. Ballads may still be heard in remote localities in the British Isles, sometimes almost unaffected by modern literary influence. Many of them were brought to America by immigrants, and in recent years great numbers of them have been collected in the United States, especially in the mountainous regions of Kentucky and Tennessee, modified in dialect and phrase, but showing unmistakably their descent from their British origins. Furthermore, the making of ballads has not entirely died out. In these same districts, among the cowboys of the western prairies, and among the negroes of the south, are to be heard songs narrating events and satirizing characters purely local; and in spite of printing press and public school this ballad making persists in many parts of the world.

The Medieval Drama

Folk Plays. At the Christmas season in English country places you may still see the village actors or mummers perform a play in which some one is killed and then brought to life by the doctor. This play is a survival from the practices of the folk long centuries ago when they celebrated the pagan festival of the passing of winter and coming of spring. Some of the personages in the play, as the clown, the man in woman's clothes, and the man with the blackened face are very venerable performers in folk drama. Such primitive exhibitions with dancing, songs, mimic fighting, and a little dialogue were common in the Middle Ages; and sometimes they took on new persons and stories. Robin Hood and Maid Marian came from the ballads to join in the plays and dances that celebrated the spring. But the main source of medieval drama was not the folk play but the church service.

Drama in the Church Service. The church service had many dramatic features, but the most important developed in connection with "tropes," texts set to verse and sung as additions to the regular service. The Easter trope beginning:

Quem quæritis in sepulchro? (Whom do you seek in the sepulcher?) was the beginning of the modern drama. It was provided with what may be called a stage setting. A sepulcher was constructed at the altar and covered with a veil. One of the clergy vested in white sat there representing the angel, three others representing the Marys coming to anoint the body of Jesus approached with incense. The angel then began the trope, singing, *Quem quæritis?* — and they replied, *Jesus Nazarenum.* He responded with the words of the Bible and lifted the veil, showing the sepulcher empty of the cross which had been placed there on Good Friday. A similar Christmas trope was devised, *Quem quæritis in præsepe, O pastores?* Whom do you seek in the manger, O shepherds? A crib was erected in the church, and a star in the ceiling guided the shepherds or the magi to the newborn Messiah. It was easy to add incidents from the Bible story to either of these ceremonies, and so from these simple beginnings there grew elaborate plays still connected with the church service and given by the clergy in the church.

Miracle Plays. Gradually there took place a process of secularization, which seems to have been rapid from about 1250 to 1350. The drama passed out of the hands of the clergy in the church into the control of the laymen in the market places or guild halls. Instead of being chanted in Latin, the plays came to be spoken in the vernacular; and instead of being ceremonies of devotion, they came to be spectacles for the delight of the crowd. The Easter trope had already gathered to itself most of the events of passion week, and the Christmas play had gathered in the rest of the New Testament. A play of the prophets, which was introduced to prophesy the coming of the Messiah, was soon elaborated to give an account of their careers; and as Adam, Balaam, Noah, and others were considered prophets, this play soon comprised a large part of the Old Testament. When the plays got into the market place they were usually gathered in a great cycle which covered the

history of the universe from creation to judgment day, with the crucifixion and the resurrection as the central events. Each episode made a little play by itself and might be given separately; but in the larger towns an entire cycle would be presented. In England the term "miracle" was applied to all biblical plays, though in France it was used only for plays derived from saints' lives, and "mystery" was the name for the biblical play.

Methods of Presentation. In England the chief cycles preserved were given by the guilds, organizations of the various trades in the towns of York, Chester, Coventry, and Wakefield, but the miracle plays were given very generally through the country. The nature of the performance varied somewhat, but was the outcome of the original presentation in church. There all the actors entered at the beginning in view of the audience and took their places at certain stations, as the sepulcher, Jerusalem, the palace of Pilate, Galilee, and so on. When they came to act they might leave their posts for the neutral ground between the stations. The stage thus represented several places at once, and there was no distinction between on and off the stage. These characteristics remained true of all stages, — whether the nave of the church, a platform, an open space, or a wagon, — down to the sixteenth century. In some parts of England, for the Corpus Christi festival, the plays were put on wagons and formed a procession passing through the town, each wagon or pageant stopping before a chosen place to perform. The great cycles in charge of the town guilds were given once a year, occupying several days.

The plays were limited to the Bible or to religious narrative such as the saints' lives. The purpose of edification was always strong, to make the Bible story and lesson clear to an illiterate public. But the purpose of entertainment constantly gained. The guilds spent large sums on costumes and properties and sometimes used the play as a sort of advertisement — the cooks provided hell with its fumes and smoke, the jewelers and goldsmiths presented the Magi and their gifts, the car-

penters made a practicable ark for Noah. Comic episodes were also made much of; in the English play Noah's wife, who refused to leave her gossips and go into the ark, was a famous character. From an early date the devils gave a good deal of sport, carrying off their victims to hell, and they sometimes made a raid into the audience. There was considerable rivalry among the guilds, and actors of the prominent parts, often very skillful, held them year after year. The plays were written by churchmen — the only men of letters — but they seized the opportunity to add original variations, especially in the direction of comedy. No one connected the miracles with the drama of the Greeks and Romans, about which little was known.

A Comic Episode. The Bible narrative afforded opportunity for tragic scenes, such as Abraham sacrificing Isaac, or the Marys at the cross. Most of the comedy was added. By far the best comedy is in the second Towneley shepherd play given at Wakefield. The shepherds watching their flocks discover that a sheep is missing and at once suspect their fellow, Mak. They go to his cottage, but find no sheep and are besought to keep quiet, as a baby has just been born. One of them insists on peeking at the baby in the cradle, and discovers there the stolen sheep. They are just tossing the rascal Mak in a blanket when they hear the angels singing *Gloria in Excelsis*. So they leave Mak, to bear gifts to the newborn Messiah at Bethlehem. There is never any hesitation in these plays at mixing the comic and the tragic; indeed the contrast of the two delighted both author and audience. And there is never any hesitation at putting anything on the stage which can be found in the Bible. Variety and incongruity were the accepted characteristics of this drama.

Morality Plays. Allegory, as we have seen, was prominent in the thought and literature of the Middle Ages, and from an early date allegorical figures, such as Truth, Righteousness, Mercy, and Peace, played parts in the religious drama. In the fifteenth century allegorical plays became common in

Europe, and those in England were known as moralities. A morality symbolized life, oftenest presenting the conflict of the vices and virtues, most of the actors being abstract qualities like Lust or Reason, or typical figures, like Youth or Everyman. At first these moralities were very serious, but before long they took on comic elements. They came into existence just as the world was awakening to a knowledge of classical drama, and so had only a brief career as a sort of transition from medieval to modern drama.

Comic episodes, like that of Mak, might be made into plays by themselves, and in France we have a number of such farces preserved. But the development of a comic drama was also interrupted by the new knowledge of the Roman comic theater. It must be understood that the liturgical plays were still given long after the guild miracle plays were established, and that the miracle plays continued after moralities and farces had become common. In England the liturgical and miracle plays practically ended with the Protestant Reformation; and the moralities and farces, as we shall see, were amalgamated with the new dramatic forms of the Renaissance.

Summary. The medieval drama did not produce any great literature, but it created a wide interest in theatrical exhibitions. England for three centuries before Shakespeare had been accustomed to seeing tragic and comic scenes presented by experienced actors. There can have been very few persons who had not seen some of these performances. The great bulk of the population was illiterate and knew nothing of the literature of Chaucer and Gower. But an illiterate peasant had joined in singing the ballads and had traveled to a market town to see raging Herod and Noah's shrewish wife. The folk had cherished from generation to generation its proverbs, stories, and songs; from the church it received in dramatic form the momentous arguments of creation and salvation. Such was the popular literature that fostered in the common people a love of poetry and of drama.

Guides to Study

Reading. Specimen ballads in Gummere's Old English Ballads, Riverside Literature Series (Witham's edition), Pocket Classics, and in volumes of selections. Note especially Sir Patrick Spens, the Douglas Tragedy, The Twa Corbies, The Twa Sisters, The Bonnie Earl of Moray, William and Margaret, The Wife of Usher's Well, Get up and Bar the Door, the Robin Hood Ballads, and the Ballad of Chevy Chase. For the medieval drama read in Pollard's English Miracle Plays, Manly's Pre-Shakespearian Drama, C. G. Child's Four Old Plays (Riverside Literature Series). Note Noah's Flood, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Salutation and Nativity, the second Towneley shepherd play.

The best account of the traditional ballad is in Gummere's Popular Ballad, and briefer, Witham's Introduction in the Riverside Literature Series

Questions. What is meant in this chapter by "popular"? What is a ballad? Why can we not fix the dates of ballads? What is the form of ballads? the subject matter? What similarity is there between Beowulf and the Little Gest of Robin Hood? Who was Robin Hood? Tell all the stories of him that you know. Are ballads still sung? Whose? Select an old ballad and give its characteristics. Who were some of the persons in the folk plays? Where else do we hear of the exploits of Robin Hood? What was the main source of the medieval drama? What is a trope? How did the religious drama become secularized? What changes occurred in the language of the plays? in the place of their performance? in the action? Describe the contents of a miracle cycle. What differences do you note between a medieval and a modern theatrical performance? How was a miracle play presented? Give some examples of comic scenes in the miracle plays. Describe the main features of a morality play. How long did miracle plays continue in England? In what way did they prepare the way for Shakespeare? Of what did the literature of the Middle Ages consist? Are the comic scenes in the miracle plays irreverent?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. A medieval drama in the church. A guild play. Why "Edward" is impressive. Omitted incidents in "Edward." The ballad point of view. Modern parallels to ballad singing. The childlike characteristics of The Sacrifice of Isaac. Write an imitation ballad about some heroic incident of the Great War. Character drawing in the miracle plays and in the ballads.

CHAPTER V

THE RENAISSANCE

What is the Renaissance?

The Revival of Learning. The Middle Ages and the Classics. Revival of the Classics. Humanism. Humanism To-day. The Discovery of America. Discovery and Commerce. Science. Printing. The Renaissance in Italy.

The Renaissance in England. Reign of Henry VII. The Oxford Reformers. Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. John Skelton.

The Protestant Reformation. The Reformers. Luther and the Reformation. William Tyndale. The English Bible. Henry VIII and the Church of England. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

Literature, 1500–1557. Wyatt and Surrey. Moralities and Farces. Varieties of the Morality. Interludes. Comedy and Tragedy.

Summary.

What is the Renaissance? In the history of our western civilization there occur from time to time periods of rapid and extraordinary change. Human affairs are, of course, always changing, and it is not easy to mark off exact periods or to select the important events that were revolutionary in men's ways of living and thinking. The fifteenth century, however, in comparison with the centuries that preceded it, was an epoch of momentous and far-reaching changes. For a thousand years Christendom had lived pretty much within itself, rarely looking back to the great pagan civilization which had preceded it, and rarely seeking knowledge of the great world which lay outside of its narrow geographical boundaries. During the fifteenth century all this was transformed. The precious treasure of classical art and literature was unlocked, and America was discovered. A new epoch of knowledge and enterprise was begun which we call the Renaissance or rebirth of Europe.

The Revival of Learning

The Middle Ages and the Classics. In the barbarian invasions that destroyed the Roman Empire, many of the manuscripts and records of that great civilization in Italy had perished. Even the monuments and buildings had fallen into neglect and ruin. The language spoken by Cæsar and Cicero had been preserved in the church and the law courts, but in a debased condition. Many of the works of the poets, orators, and historians had been lost and almost forgotten. If little was remembered of the art and literature of Rome, still less was preserved of the great achievements of Greece. The great works of medieval art and literature owed little or nothing to those of Athens. The story of Troy, as we have seen, was known only in strange versions which had no connection with the *Iliad*. The Greek language was long unknown even to the best scholars of western Europe.

Revival of the Classics. During the later Middle Ages, however, learned men in Italy were already taking an interest in the literature of antiquity. Manuscripts had been discovered, and here and there little groups of writers were imitating this or that Roman author. The study of Latin had also given impulse to original efforts in poetry, oratory, and history. The three great writers, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, had not only created a great literature in the Italian language, they had also recognized the need of a close relationship between modern and ancient literature. Petrarch in particular may be regarded as the pioneer of the Renaissance. The revival of learning, letters, and art was well under way when in 1453 the Turks took Constantinople, the capital of what was left of the Eastern Roman Empire, and overran Greece and the Balkans. Greek scholars fleeing before the Turks brought manuscripts to Italy and aided what was already an awakened interest in the language and literature of Greece.

This revival of learning was like the discovery of a new con-

tinent. It was the rediscovery of centuries of human culture, of history, art, and literature. The discovery and exploration of these new lands became a series of thrilling adventures. Enthusiasts made the perilous pilgrimage to Constantinople even before its fall. " I go to awake the dead," said one ardent collector of manuscripts. A monastery might give hospitality to a wandering Greek scholar who brought with him a Greek grammar or a fragment of Demosthenes. Here were new occupations for men of letters. First, the languages must be learned, grammars and dictionaries made, lectures on Latin and Greek given in the universities. Then there were the new science and philosophy to be learned, and the new authors to be read and appreciated. There followed a period of imitation. Men said, let us write beautiful Latin like Cicero, let us make buildings and statues like the Romans, let us make over our manners and ideas, our literature and life, and make them all like those of antiquity. They were ready to forget that the Greeks and Romans were Pagans, or at least they were eager to believe that these great Pagans held beliefs not contrary to Christianity; and for a time there was an effort to make over Italy of the fifteenth century into a likeness of the imperial Rome of Augustus.

Humanism. This attempt to make the world like something that had existed fifteen hundred years earlier was, of course, doomed to failure. The new birth was not of the old epoch, but of a civilization that learned much from the old. Men made new buildings and statues and pictures that were not imitative but original works of art; and men made new poems and books which, while they owed much to the inspiration of the classics, yet had a fresh beauty and meaning of their own. Thus, Italy experienced an awakening of human effort in the noble fields of arts and letters. The leaders in this movement were called " humanists," a word which may be taken as referring to their interest in what are known as the humanities, especially the study of the literature, philosophy, and history

of the ancient world. The word humanist, however, has also a wider implication; it means an interest in humanity. And the humanists were directed by the classics to a new and ardent interest in mankind. This life no longer seemed a mere penance to be endured by the good Christian in preparation for heaven; it was enlarged and beautified by the records of human achievement which the literature of the past revealed. A window was opened in the monk's cell which looked out upon men and women keenly interested in this life and striving eagerly to make it larger and happier.

Humanism To-day. When we study Latin or Greek to-day, we may wonder why the strange words are of any importance to us. Ever since the Renaissance, these two languages have supplied the literature on which modern Europe has based a large portion of its ideas as to manners and morals, government and art. Over the gulf of fifteen centuries, the humanists stretched the bridge that united to the modern age what Poe called

> The glory that was Greece
> And the grandeur that was Rome.

For the five centuries since then, men have kept that bridge in constant service.

The Discovery of America. The conquest of Constantinople, though it aided the revival of learning in western Europe, narrowed the geographical realm of Christendom. That realm during the Middle Ages extended from the British Isles on the west to Constantinople on the east. It was shut in on one side by the unknown Atlantic, and on the other by the Mohammedan countries of Africa and Asia. The crusades had partly lifted this barrier; but as the Turks pressed on toward Vienna, the Moors were holding the southern part of the Spanish peninsula, and the very existence of the Christian world was threatened. But just as the Moors were being pushed back and the Turks checked, America was discovered. The known world was

doubled in extent; the new continent offered vast domains for Christianity, and untold wealth for Europe.

Discovery and Commerce. The great adventure of Columbus was only one of many daring voyages for trade or discovery Earlier in the century the Portuguese had taken the lead in improving the science of navigation and in exploring the pathless ocean. They had doubled the Cape of Good Hope four years before Columbus set sail, and thus opened the sea route to India. The discoveries were everywhere followed by adventurers, missionaries, and traders. Ships soon plied the oceans from India to Panama, and the opportunities for commerce grew by leaps and bounds. Western Europe was no longer the terminus of trade routes but rather the focus of the world's commerce. Just as the rediscovery of the civilization of antiquity proved an enormous stimulus to men's intellects and imaginations, so the discovery of America and the enlargement of the geographical world opened new fields, not only for trade and wealth, but also for thought. The horizons of the mind were lifted along with the boundaries of geography.

Science. Science felt the stir of this new aspiration as well as literature. Mathematics, navigation, astronomy, physics, and engineering became active in both experiment and theory. The new science, moreover, played its part in revolutionizing knowledge. The science of both the Middle Ages and of the classical world had believed that this earth was the center of the universe and that the sun and planets revolved about the earth. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, a Polish scholar, Copernicus, had formed the theory that the earth revolved about the sun. This laid the foundation for modern astronomy, and indeed changed man's entire outlook on the universe, though the old Ptolemaic system of a series of spheres with the earth as a center held its place for a while and appears in our literature as late as Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Printing. More immediate and even more far reaching in its effects on thought and literature than the Copernican system,

was the invention of printing. Movable types, as we have seen, came into use in the fifteenth century, thus providing a new means for the spread of ideas. The rediscovered Greek manuscripts were not merely for a few, but could be reproduced for as many as cared to study them. The new accessions to knowledge were distributed by treatises and textbooks. Literature found its importance and usefulness greatly enlarged.

The Renaissance in Italy. All these changes making for new opportunities for the individual made their presence manifest first in Italy. Before the discovery of America, Italy was the center of commerce and the halfway station for trade routes between East and West. Its cities, Florence, Genoa, and Venice, were the most prosperous of Europe. The discovery of the New World eventually reduced their importance, but during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they held their positions as great centers of trade and wealth. They led Europe in the new humanism, in science and commerce, in painting, sculpture, and architecture, and in fiction and poetry. The Renaissance is sometimes spoken of as the Italian Renaissance, because modern civilization was born in Italy. Never since then, in fact, has there been a period of such magnificent artistic achievement as these Italian towns witnessed within a few years of the turn of the century. The great painters, Raphael and Titian, the great writers, Ariosto and Machiavelli, and geniuses like Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, who were great as painters, sculptors, architects, engineers, and writers, were all alive in the year 1500. Amid the ruins of ancient Rome, the new and wonderful human endeavor was making itself manifest in churches, palaces, statues, paintings, and poems. Venice, Florence, and Rome were becoming the wonders of a new world.

The Renaissance in England

Reign of Henry VII. The scholarship, science, and art of Italy gradually made their way across the Alps into northern

MAP OF THE WORLD, 1600

(Copied from *Shakespeare's England*, published by the Oxford Press.)

Europe and on to England. Italian artists traveled to northern coasts, and northern students journeyed to Italy to learn of the new culture. The effect of the Italian Renaissance was, however, somewhat slow in making its way into England. The Wars of the Roses left little chance for the refinements of peace. Caxton, however, had printed the first book in England in 1474, and an Italian scholar had introduced Greek to Oxford at about the same date. When Henry VIII came to the throne in 1509, the new learning was represented in England by a group of distinguished men.

The Oxford Reformers. This group is known as the Oxford Reformers, because many of them were Oxford men and that university was the English center of humanism. The chief man of the group was Sir Thomas More, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and his new and handsome house in Chelsea was another center of the movement. Here came his friends, Erasmus the great scholar from Holland, Holbein the painter, and John Colet, dean of St. Paul's. These men were all good churchmen, but through the new interests created by a knowledge of Greek and Roman culture they had become ardent for new ideas. They desired no break with authority or in the church, but they hoped and labored for a betterment of conditions in every field of activity.

Sir Thomas More's Utopia. The most important book by Sir Thomas More was his *Utopia*, written first in Latin, and after his death translated into English. Utopia means nowhere, and the book describes an ideal community, somewhat after the fashion of Plato's *Republic*. It is the first example in England of a type of book in which social idealists have tried to urge men toward the improvement of their laws and customs by means of the picture of an ideal commonwealth. In nearly every respect this Utopia is a contrast to the England of More's day. In England, More found the great evils of poverty among the laboring classes, greed and luxury among the rich, and an eagerness for war on the part of the rulers. In Utopia

property is held in common, and there is no poverty. The king is elected, no treaties are permitted, and war is prohibited except for defense. There is careful sanitation, a national system of education, toleration in religion, and a union of individual efforts for the general good. There is no idleness. All, except the elected overseers and a few chosen to devote themselves to learning, must labor with their hands, but the working day is limited to six hours and the rest of the time spent in study of literature, art, or science, or in innocent pastime. In no respect is the book more modern than in this recognition of the organization of labor as the main problem of society; and in no respect is it more sharply critical of Tudor England.

But here, lest you be deceived, one thing you must look more narrowly upon. For seeing they bestow but six hours in work, perchance you may think that the lack of some necessary things hereof may ensue. But this is nothing so. For that small time is not only enough, but also too much, for the store and abundance of all things that be requisite either for the necessity or commodity of life. The which thing you also shall perceive if you weigh and consider with yourselves how great a part of the people in other countries liveth idle. First, almost all women, which be the half of the whole number; or else if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their stead the men be idle. Besides this, how great and how idle a company is there of priests, and religious men, as they call them. Put thereto all rich men, specially all landed men, which commonly be called gentlemen and noblemen. Take into this number also their servants; I mean all that flock of stout, bragging rush-bucklers. Join to them also sturdy and valiant beggars, cloaking their idle life under the color of some disease or sickness. And truly you shall find them much fewer than you thought, by whose labor all these things are wrought that in men's affairs are now daily used and frequented.

John Skelton. Court poets felt the stir of new themes. John Skelton (1460-1529), a favorite poet of the universities and the court, was well read in Latin and French. His poems are very numerous and of many kinds, sometimes following medieval models, but often showing imitation of the classics. His *Magnificence* is a long morality of the medieval fashion,

but his *Boke of Phylyp Sparowe* seems to have been suggested by Catullus's famous lament for a sparrow's death. In this poem he first used the meter often known as Skeltonian, short verses of a varying number of syllables with irregular rimes. In this lively meter the young girl who is mourning for her pet shows a sparkling fancy and a considerable knowledge of the classics.

Do mi nus
Help now, sweet Jesus!
Levavi oculos meos in montes:[1]
Wolde God I had Zenophontes
Or Socrates the wise
To show me their devise
Moderately to take
This sorrow that I make
For Philip Sparrow's sake!
So fervently I shake,
I feel my body quake.
So urgently I am brought
Into careful thought.
Like Andromach, Hector's wife,
Was weary of her life,
When she had lost her joy,
Noble Hector of Troy;
In like manner also
Encreeseth my deadly woe
For my sparrow is go.
. . . .
Sometimes he would gasp
When he saw a wasp
A fly or a gnat
He would fly at that;
And prettily he would pant
When he saw an ant;
Lord, how he would pry
After the butterfly!
Lord, how he would hop
After the grass hop!
And when I said, Phip, Phip,
Then he would leap and sip
And take me by the lip.
Alas, it will me slo, [slay]
That Philip is gone me fro.

Skelton's poems are often satiric, indulging in coarse personal abuse, but showing the greatest vigor and courage in their assaults on the evils of the church and state. In *Colin Clout,* while satirizing the corrupt clergy, he attacked the great Cardinal Wolsey, and in later poems returned to the attack with the bitterest invectives. Even under the despotic Henry VIII, English poetry was manifesting its power as a courageous critic of authority. As Skelton himself said of his poetry,

Though my rhyme be ragged,
Tattered and jagged, . . .
It hath in it some pith.

[1] I lifted mine eyes unto the mountains.

The Protestant Reformation

The Reformers. The cry for reform was resounding throughout Europe. With the new ideas and opportunities opened by the Renaissance, it was inevitable that men should desire to free themselves from evils that hampered their development. But, as always during movements for reform, there was division among the reformers. Sir Thomas More and the Oxford reformers could dream of an ideal state without poverty, idleness, or war, but they desired only a slow and gradual improvement that should not upset the authority of either church or state. Ever since Wyclif's day, however, there had been in England protests against the corruption of the clergy and signs of a rebellion of the individual conscience against the strict authority of the church. On the Continent, too, similar protests threatened a disruption of Christianity. The hopes of the humanists for a golden age shared by a united Christendom were rudely broken by the great and revolutionary movement of the Protestant Reformation.

Luther and the Reformation. In 1520, Henry VIII met his rival and sometime ally, Francis I of France, on the field of the Cloth of Gold in an entertainment of unexampled splendor. The two monarchs, both patrons of arts and letters, doubtless felt that their pageant was a great event in an age of magnificence. But it is memorable chiefly because in the same year a German priest, Martin Luther, who had been criticizing the practices of the church, burnt the edict of the Pope. This was open rebellion against the head of Christendom, and the war was on. The Protestants not only protested but they fought against the authority of Rome in behalf of freedom of belief and freedom of ecclesiastical government. Their plea for a greater liberty of conscience led to many divisions, each body of Protestants finding support in the Bible for doctrines and practices not approved by Rome. Not only the church but every nation of western Europe was divided against itself;

there were almost continuous wars for a century and a half, and even in times of peace there were terrible persecutions and massacres. Even to-day, three centuries since Luther, the western world is sharply divided into Protestants and Catholics.

William Tyndale. In England one man should be remembered for his great services both to the Reformation and to our literature. William Tyndale was a student at Oxford and Cambridge, well trained in Greek and in the ideas of the humanists. As a priest in the church, however, he found himself bitterly opposed by many, and he resolved to aid the cause of reform by an English translation of the New Testament. To one of his clerical opponents he declared, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of the scripture than thou dost." England proved hostile to his purpose, and he went to Germany, visited Luther, and in 1525 completed his translation. Until his martyrdom, in 1536, Tyndale remained in Germany or the Netherlands, working on a translation of the Old Testament, and writing many books on the Protestant side. His controversy with Sir Thomas More resulted in a number of pamphlets by both men which make the most important literary presentation of the great debate in English.

The English Bible. In his original works Tyndale wrote in a direct, forcible style and showed himself one of the first masters of English prose, but his great monument was his New Testament. Its general character as well as many specific phrases and passages are preserved in the familiar authorized version made nearly a century later. The wonderful simplicity and dignity of the King James version are in no small measure due to Tyndale. His translation, and others which shortly followed, made the Bible a part of English literature and familiar to all classes of readers.

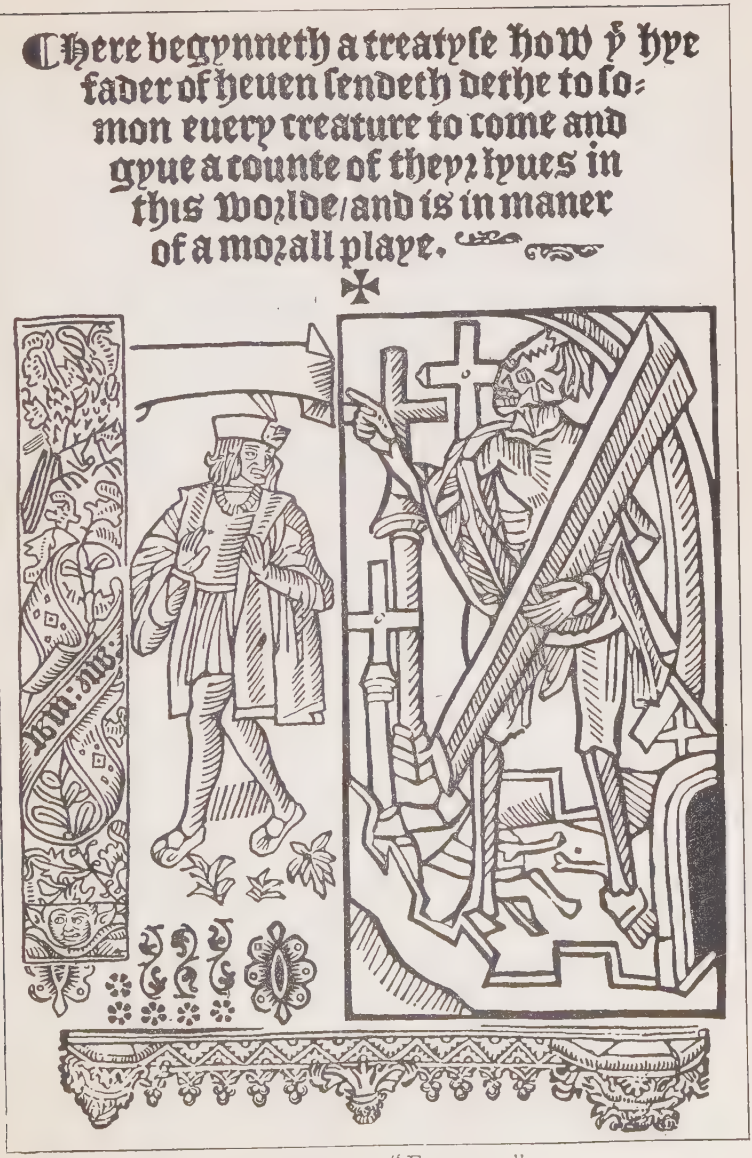
Henry VIII and the Church of England. Henry VIII won from the Pope the title of "defender of the faith" because of a pamphlet which he himself wrote against Luther; but

within a few years this monarch had become the great foe of Rome. Two acts of his reign brought England to the Protestant side; the establishment of himself instead of the Pope as the head of the English church, and the dissolution of the monasteries. The great wealth in buildings and estates held by the religious orders was confiscated, and the endowments changed to secular purposes. The controversy over the relations between church and state was thus settled by the king. No one dared to oppose him, and under his rule there was little chance for public discussion of the questions which were greatly stirring the nation. Nor in the next two reigns was there any opportunity for literature to express ideas fully. The reign of Edward VI was brief and Protestant, that of Mary brief and Catholic; and in neither reign was much mercy shown to the other side.

Foxe's Book of Martyrs. A characteristic product of these religious changes was the great compilation, *Acts and Monuments*, usually known as the *Book of Martyrs*, by John Foxe. This huge work described, often in lurid terms and with much violent language directed against his religious opponents, the sufferings and deaths of the martyrs of the church from the earliest times to the reign of Mary. It was the later martyrdoms that made the deepest impression, and the book has been second only to the Bible in the training of young Puritans down almost to our own day.

Literature, 1500–1557

Wyatt and Surrey. It was to the Italian Renaissance rather than to the Protestant Reformation that the poets turned for inspiration. The Italian form of the sonnet was introduced into English verse by Sir Thomas Wyatt and used by the Earl of Surrey, who also in his translation of the *Æneid* wrote the first English blank verse (iambic pentameter). These two poets were noblemen of high rank who led adventurous lives


Here begynneth a treatyse how ỹ hye
fader of heuen sendeth dethe to so-
mon euery creature to come and
gyue a counte of theyr lyues in
this worlde/and is in maner
of a morall playe.

First Page of "Everyman"

and played large parts in the troubled affairs of the time, yet they succeeded in writing English verse with an ease and grace unknown since Chaucer. "Wyatt and Surrey," wrote a critic later in the century, "were novices newly crept out of the schooles of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, and greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie." Sir Philip Sidney called them "the two chief lanterns of light to all others that have since employed their pens upon English poesie." Their poems and those of some other writers were collected long after their deaths and published in a volume, *Tottel's Miscellany*, in 1557. This volume, which went through many editions, is one of the landmarks in the history of English literature, not so much because it gives us the work of these pioneers, Wyatt and Surrey, as because it marks the opening of the great Elizabethan period, when English poetry became the chief glory of a glorious epoch.

Moralities and Farces. The changes that were taking place in England from the accession of Henry VII to the accession of Elizabeth are perhaps better reflected in the drama than in any other form of literature. Miracle plays were already growing less frequent at the beginning of this period, and they had virtually disappeared at its close. The prevailing form of drama was the morality. The best play of this type, *Everyman*, preaches an old lesson with impressive solemnity. The hero facing death finds that his earlier companions, Friendship, Kindred, and Riches, are useless and that he needs the aid of Good Works, Repentance, and Mercy. These plays, as we have seen, soon supplemented their moral themes by comic episodes; and the "Vice," or clown, became their principal personage. In the work of John Heywood the comic incidents were made into plays by themselves; and in his farces, *John, Tib, and Sir John*, *The Four P's*, and *The Pardoner and the Friar*, we have the first English plays that were neither miracles nor moralities, and which sought to amuse rather than to instruct.

Varieties of the Morality. The moralities were also giving up the effort to present a general allegory of life, and substituting a sort of biography based on the story of the prodigal son, or a pedagogical lesson on the superiority of wisdom to ignorance. In one play Ignorance appears as a schoolboy making hard work of his spelling lesson. Almost any theme could be adapted to the scheme of the morality, and the Protestant controversy soon found a place on the stage. In one of these controversial plays, *King John*, by Bishop Bale, that worthy is presented as a Protestant hero. The play, because it gives historical scenes and persons as well as personified abstractions, is often styled the first English historical play.

Interludes. The form and the method of presentation were changing as well as the content of the plays. The earliest moralities were very long and were acted out of doors by amateurs, after the fashion of the miracles. But with the Tudors, professional actors appear with growing frequency. They are attached to courts or to the households of the great nobles, but they are also permitted to travel about giving plays wherever they find it profitable. Plays are also found valuable as a means of education and are given at school or university. The court undertakes all sorts of dramatic entertainments, and employs choir boys as well as professionals. As plays increase in variety and popularity, there are many kinds of presentation, but the main demand is for a short play that can be presented by a few actors and can be given almost anywhere. The usual theater is either a hall or an innyard, and the usual stage a simple platform. The term "interlude" is synonymous with play or drama, but it is generally applied to these short plays, whatever their contents, which are suited to this simple representation.

Comedy and Tragedy. Many of these interludes, whether morality or farce, and whether played at school or court or elsewhere, were imitated more or less from the plays prevalent in the Netherlands, France, or Italy. Latin plays were also

acted at school and college, and a few Englishmen wrote plays in Latin. But the English drama was slow in imitating directly the tragedies and comedies of Rome and Greece. At about the time of Elizabeth's accession two comedies on the model of Plautus and Terence appeared. *Gammer Gurton's Needle* gives a farcical treatment of the loss of a needle which is finally found in Hodge's breeches, and *Ralph Roister Doister*, by a schoolmaster, Nicholas Udall, tells the story of a braggart who is repulsed in his love affairs. A few years later (1562) *Gorboduc*, the first play modeled on classical tragedy, was acted by amateurs before the queen. By the time, however, that English dramatists began to imitate closely the plays of the Romans and Greeks, the condition of the native drama was in many respects flourishing. If the plays did not yet show great literary merit, they were numerous and dealt with all sorts of subjects. There were many well-trained actors, both professional and amateur, and these had a large public that was very fond of the drama.

Summary. Elizabeth became queen in 1558, the year after the publication of *Tottel's Miscellany*. During the preceding seventy-three years of the Tudor dynasty, it cannot be said that literature had greatly flourished in England. There were no great names. More, Tyndale, Wyatt, Surrey, and others who contributed to literature were chiefly occupied with other pursuits. But a transition had been made from the ideas of the Middle Ages to those of the Renaissance. The nation had created a church of its own, confirmed by the adoption of the Thirty-Nine Articles in 1563, and it had changed its faith without civil war. Commerce had increased rapidly, and the seaports were beginning to count among the great markets of Europe. The new learning had made its way, and Latin was taught in school and college as the basis of education. Art and literature had not been greatly cultivated, but the old forms were giving way to new models. The miracle plays were mostly discontinued; the morality, which had proved

a convenient receptacle for all sorts of material, was in its turn passing; the classical forms of comedy and tragedy were being imitated. The sonnet was established as a form of English verse, and young poets were looking to Italy and France for other models. Education and printing were creating a new interest in books, and were opening many professions besides that of the clergy to young men of ability. They were journeying to Italy and bringing back new manners and new books. The Bible was open to any one who could read. England was a little backward but ready for an awakening. The time was ripe for the birth of Shakespeare.

Reading. Selections from Wyatt and Surrey are to be found in Martin and Snyder and other collections. Selections from Skelton are in Neilson and Webster and in Ward's English Poets. Everyman is available in Everyman's Library and in several other reprints. Ralph Roister Doister is in Everyman's and in Manly's Pre-Shakespearian Drama. More's Utopia is in the Arber Reprints and the Scott Library.

Selections from Tyndale's prose are given in Newcomer, Manly, and other collections. The life of Sir Thomas More by his son-in-law, Roper, (Arber's reprint of the Utopia) is charming reading. George Eliot's Romola gives a picture of the Italian Renaissance; and Charles Reade's The Cloister and the Hearth depicts life in Europe during the fifteenth century and has for its hero the father of Erasmus.

Questions. What was the Renaissance? What was known in the early Middle Ages of Greek civilization? of Greek drama? of Homer? What was the Revival of Learning? When did it begin? What connection did it have with the fall of Constantinople? What effect did it have on literature? What is a humanist? humanism? Name some great Italians who were alive in 1500. Who was Michael Angelo? Tell what you can of Venice; of Florence; of Rome. What effect did the discovery of America have on commerce? on ideas? Who was Copernicus? What effect did the invention of printing have on literature?

When was the first book printed in England? In whose reign? What other events occurred in the reign? Who were the Oxford reformers? Tell what you can of Sir Thomas More. Who were some of his friends? Who was the chief poet in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII? Name some of his poems. What are they about? When did the Protestant Reformation begin? What differences were there between the Oxford

reformers and the Protestants? What English Protestant contributed most to literature? What other English Protestant wrote a famous book? What was Tottel's Miscellany? When was it published? and what is its importance in literature? What is a miracle play? a morality? a farce? an interlude? What changes in content took place in the drama? What changes in form? What was the first English tragedy? Summarize the condition of English literature at the accession of Elizabeth. Name several events of importance to literature that took place within a few years before or after her accession.

Topics for Oral or Written Composition. The Adventures of a Greek Manuscript. Why Greek and Latin Are Studied in Our Schools. Life of Leonardo da Vinci. Humanism. Florence at the End of the 15th Century (George Eliot's Romola). Sir Thomas More and His Circle. The Effects of the Reformation on Literature. Write a few lines of Skeltonian verse on some happening in your school; a few lines of blank verse or a sonnet on Columbus, on Copernicus, Erasmus, Henry VIII. Why is Everyman an impressive play? An Example of Allegory from Modern Drama.

Chronological Table, 1485–1564

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
		1485. Henry VII. Wars of the Roses end.
		1492. Columbus discovers America.
1500 cir. *Everyman.*		1497. Cabot discovers mainland of North America.
		1498. Vasco da Gama discovers sea route to India. Savonarola burnt.
1503. Dunbar, *Thistle and the Rose.*		
1507. Skelton, *Book of Philip Sparrow.*	1504. Sannazzaro, *Arcadia.*	1506. First stone of St. Peter's laid.
1513. Gavin Douglas, Translation of *Æneid.*	1511. Erasmus, *Praise of Folly.*	1509. Henry VIII.
1516. Sir Thomas More, *Utopia.*	1516. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso.*	1513. Pope Leo X.
1500–1560. Moralities flourish.	1516. Erasmus, *Greek Testament.*	1515. Wolsey, Cardinal and Chancellor.
1525. Berners, Translation of *Froissart.* Tyndale, Translation of *New Testament.*	1517. Leonardo da Vinci died.	1521. Luther before Diet of Worms.
	1523. Luther, Translation of *New Testament.*	
	1527. Machiave li died.	
1529. Skelton died.	1532. *Il Principe* printed.	1534. Papal Supremacy abolished by English Church.
	1533. Rabelais, *Gargantua.*	
1531. Sir T. Elyot, *The Governor.*	1533. Montaigne died.	1535. Sir Thomas More beheaded.
1532. Sir T. More, *Confutation of Tyndale.*	1536. Erasmus died.	1536–1539. Suppression of monasteries in England.
	1536. Calvin, *Institutes.*	1536. Tyndale burnt.
1520–1530. John Heywood's Plays.		
1536. Tyndale, New Testament printed in England.		
	1543. Copernicus died.	1540. Society of Jesus founded by Loyola.
1540 cir. Bale, *King John.*		
1542. Sir Thomas Wyatt died.		1545. Council of Trent.
		1546. Luther died
1548. *Book of Common Prayer.*	1547. Cervantes born.	1547. Edward VI.
1554. Foxe, *Book of Martyrs,* first Latin edition; English, 1563.		1553. Mary.
1550 cir. Udall, *Ralph Roister Doister.*		
1557. Earl of Surrey, Translation of *Æneid.*		1556. Cranmer burnt.
		1558. Elizabeth.
1557. *Tottel's Miscellany.*		
1559. *Mirror for Magistrates,* 1st ed.	1559. Index Expurgatorius. French Trans. Plutarch's *Lives.*	1559. Act of Uniformity.
1560. Geneva Bible. Trans. of Seneca.		
1561. Bacon born. *Gorboduc* acted.		
	1562. Lope de Vega born.	

CHAPTER VI

THE AGE OF SHAKESPEARE: NON-DRAMATIC LITERATURE, 1564–1616

The England of Elizabeth.

The Literature of Translation. North's *Plutarch*. Translations of the Bible.

The Elizabethan Novel. Lyly and Euphuism. Sir Philip Sidney.

Edmund Spenser. Life. *The Shepherds' Calendar*. *The Faerie Queene*. Lyrical Poems. Influence of Spenser. Sir Walter Raleigh.

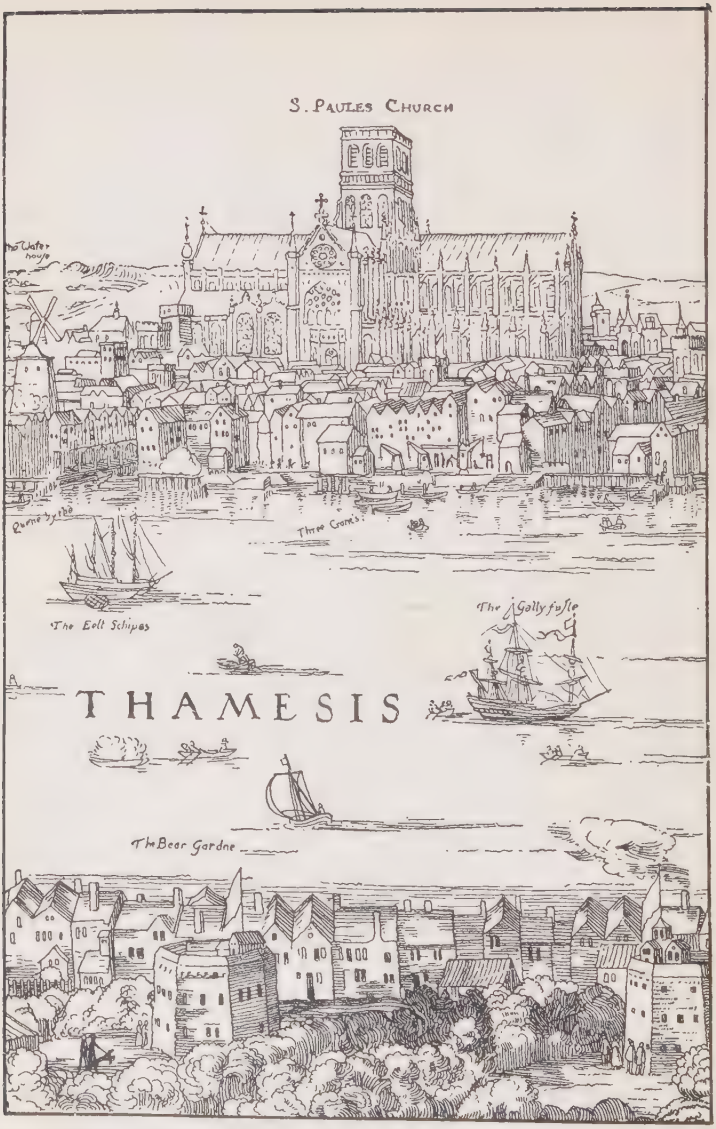
Summary.

The England of Elizabeth. The reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603) is famous for many reasons. England attained a prosperity at home and an importance abroad such as it never had known before. Spain, the greatest European power, was humbled by the defeat of its gigantic Armada. Daring seamen, such as Gilbert, Frobisher, and Drake carried the English flag into all corners of the world and established a supremacy on the seas which made possible the British Empire. It was a reign of great men, for the changing times gave new opportunities to individual ambition, and Englishmen were distinguished in many fields as sailors, adventurers, lawyers, scholars, churchmen, and statesmen, and also as poets and dramatists. In no way, however, is the reign more famed than for the rapid growth of letters and for the host of writers who created a great literature which has remained the admiration and delight of succeeding generations. It was the reign of Spenser, Bacon, and Shakespeare.

For the men living then it must have seemed a period of rapid progress. Our own time has seen some greater transformations; and just as boys and girls are to-day told by their

parents of the novelty of electric cars, telephones, wireless, and automobiles, and by their grandparents of a time without railways or telegraphs, so Shakespeare's daughter may have heard her father tell of the many changes which had taken place during his life. Fashions in dress changed even oftener than they do now and went to extravagant extremes. Men often wore fortunes upon their backs and surpassed the women in gay colors, costly jewels, and absurd figures. Business was growing, and great fortunes were being amassed partly by daring trading, but more often through monopolies granted by the government. Knowledge was increasing rapidly as travelers brought back tales of new lands, or students discovered something unknown of past times. What seemed a dangerous change to many was the growth of luxury. Coaches came into use in the cities and caused as much discussion as automobiles did a few years ago. Dwellings were better built, with glass windows; and the nobles built great country homes. Forks were brought from Italy and tobacco from America. Religion had experienced a revolution; the Church of England was established, but discussion of religious topics was rife, and the extreme Protestants became known as Puritans. They were especially hostile to certain ceremonies and to the authority of the bishops. Reading and education were growing, and were no longer confined to a small class. In the upper ranks a bright girl might study Latin and Greek and become better educated in books than her brother. Rural England went on about as before, but all was stir and movement in the growing seaports, and especially in London. It was a city of not much over one hundred thousand inhabitants, but in commerce, wealth, and in the activity and independence of its citizens, it had become one of the great cities of the world.

All the changes which we have noted in the preceding chapter as taking place in the fifteenth century and contributing to the Renaissance of Europe made themselves fully manifest in the England of Elizabeth. And in England as elsewhere the



From Vischer's View of London, 1616, Showing St. Paul's Cathedral and Two Playhouses on the Bankside

(Copied from *Shakespeare's England*, published by the Oxford Press.)

greatest of these was the growth of humanism, of an interest in human affairs. Instead of an island shut off on one side of the world, England found herself in the center of the universe, and connected by commerce, by war, by discovery, by books, and by ideas with men of every continent. This lifting of the horizon of the intellect and the imagination was not confined to queen, or ministers, or travelers. The son of a shoemaker, Kit Marlowe, the son of a bricklayer, Ben Jonson, the son of a country storekeeper, Will Shakespeare, were among those who felt this impulse calling them to a study of books, to the animated life of London, and finally to the imaginative expression of the greatness and variety of human nature.

The Literature of Translation

North's Plutarch. When, under the conciliating rule of Elizabeth, the passions of the Reformation began to cool and Englishmen turned again to the things of this world, there developed a great appetite for entertaining literature. The changes in the language in the previous century had been such as to make the writings of the age of Chaucer somewhat old-fashioned, and the preoccupation of more recent authors with religious topics had prevented the production of any large amount of contemporary secular literature. Printing had brought books within the reach of a much larger number of people than had formerly been able to own manuscripts, and more and more people were learning to read. The publishers of the second part of the sixteenth century, to supply the growing demand, turned to the literature of other times and countries, and translations were produced in vast numbers. Most of the Latin classics and many of the Greek appeared in an English dress, as an example of which may be mentioned Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*. This great collection of classical biographies is still a delight to read in its rich and ample sentences, whose occasional quaintness of

phrase seldom creates obscurity; and it has the further title to fame that it supplied to Shakespeare the material for *Julius Cæsar* and his other Roman plays.

Besides the classics, the translators of the time drew on the literature of Italy, France, and Spain. It is impossible to describe the variety of material thus brought within the knowledge of the Elizabethan Englishman. Books of devotion and treatises on horsemanship, manuals of conduct and manuals of cookery, poems, dramas, and criticism — all seemed to find a public. Most voluminous of all was the supply of fiction. The Italians especially had produced in the two previous centuries a vast quantity of stories, chiefly in the form of the short narratives called "novelle," such as compose the famous *Decameron* of Boccaccio; and these were turned into English by the hundred, supplying amusement for the reader, models for imitation by native story-writers, and plots for dramatists. Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* is a typical example of the English imitation of the Italian collections, a compilation of a hundred stories from ancient and modern sources. Thus all the world was being drawn on to nourish the English imagination and to broaden the outlook and enlarge the information of both authors and public, so preparing the way for the great writers who were to come.

Translations of the Bible. We have seen that in the age of Chaucer the reforming movement started by Wyclif produced the first complete translation of the Bible. The same result accompanied the Reformation itself. William Tyndale, in 1525, published his translation of the New Testament The Old Testament was later added, and throughout the century a number of other versions were issued. Some, like the Geneva Bible, were colored by the opinions of the more extreme Protestants; others, like the Douay and Rheims versions, were translated for the use of the Catholics. Finally, in 1611, a body of English divines produced the great *Authorized Version*, sometimes called "King James's," which we read to-day.

Though this great monument of English prose is the result of many revisions by various hands, the quality of its style is due more to Tyndale than to any other man. A few verses from his New Testament will show how, in spite of modifications of the language, the general effect is very similar to that which we find in the Bible we know.

Ye are the salt of the erthe, but ah! yf the salte be once unsavery, what can be salted there with? it is thence forthe good for nothynge, but to be cast out at the dores, and that men treade it under fete. Ye are the light of the worlde. A cite that is sett on an hill cannot be hyd, nether do men light a candle and put it under a busshell, but on a candelstycke, and it lighteth all those which are in the housse. Se that youre light so schyne before men, that they maye se youre good werkes, and gloryfie your Father, which is in heven.[1] Matthew, V.

Not only does the English Bible stand in the front rank of English prose writing, notable alike for its simplicity and dignity, its beauty and its strength, but it has been beyond comparison the greatest single influence on the prose style of the last three hundred years.

The Elizabethan Novel

Lyly and Euphuism. Not all Elizabethan fiction was translation. In 1578 a sensation was produced in courtly circles by the publication of a curious book by John Lyly, *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit*, followed two years later by *Euphues and his England*. Though containing slight love stories, these books seem to our taste very thin in plot, and indeed their purpose was less that of entertaining by a well built narrative, than of laying down in their long-drawn-out conversations and letters the precepts to be followed by a well-bred young gentleman. Thus they resembled the "books of conduct" we have spoken of in the Middle Ages, only their ideal is that of the Renaissance.

But Lyly has gained immortality by the style rather than by

[1] Compare Wyclif's translation of the same passage on page 42.

the matter of his books. The Renaissance taste in art delighted in lavish decoration, and this taste is reflected in much of the prose of the period, in the abundant use of figures of speech, and in the weaving of quaint patterns of sound into the structure of the sentences. The tendency at large is often called "Euphuism"; in a narrower sense the word is applied to the particular devices which charmed the Elizabethan courtiers in Lyly's books. These abounded in balanced constructions, the balance being emphasized by employing in corresponding places in the two halves of the sentence words alliterating, riming, or identical. In addition to this pattern in the sound, he fitted his paragraphs with odd similes and comparisons drawn from what was supposed to be natural history, and from his historical and geographical reading. Here is a typical passage:

> My good Fidus, if the increasing of my sorrows might mitigate the extremity of thy sickness, I could be content to resolve myself into tears to rid thee of trouble. But the making of a fresh wound in my body is nothing to the healing of a festered sore in thy bowels; for that such diseases are to be cured in the end by the means of their original. For as by Basil the scorpion is engendered and by the means of the same herb destroyed, so love which by time and fancy is bred in an idle head is by time and fancy banished from the heart; or as the salamander which, being a long space nourished in the fire, at the last quenched it, so affection, having taken hold of the fancy and living as it were in the mind of the lover, in tract of time altereth and changeth the heat, and turneth it to chilliness.

Lyly employed this style not only in his fiction but in his plays, and its influence extended to his fellow authors and seems to have affected the fashionable speech of the day. In spite of its affectations, its main influence was good, for it helped to teach English prose the advantages of balance and firmness of structure.

Sir Philip Sidney. A novel rivaling in popularity Lyly's *Euphues* was written by Sir Philip Sidney for the entertainment of his sister — *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia.* Sidney is justly regarded as the highest type of the Elizabethan

gentleman. The son of a noble Kentish family and allied to some of the most notable houses of the English aristocracy, Sidney, by his beauty and courage, his wit and his learning, his generosity, courtesy, and affection, was the idol of the court. "He flung away his life to save the English army in Flanders, and as he lay dying they brought a cup of water to his fevered lips. He bade them give it to a soldier who was stretched on the ground beside him. 'Thy necessity,' he said, 'is greater than mine.'" He wrote, but left unpublished, three books, which, though each is distinguished in its kind, have together contributed less to his reputation than have his accomplishments and his personal charm. *The Arcadia* is a novel written in a highly decorated prose with many poems interspersed, dealing with the fantastic adventures of royal and noble persons who live disguised as shepherds. It is the chief English example of the pastoral romance. His sonnets, written under the name of Astrophel and addressed to a lady whom he called Stella, are among the finest of the thousands of this kind of composition produced in England in the end of the sixteenth century. His *Apology for Poetry*, written in reply to a Puritan attack on the arts, made Englishmen familiar with the literary criticism of the Italian Renaissance. The age of Elizabeth was fortunate in having the noblest characteristics of its spirit and its culture embodied in so attractive a representative.

Edmund Spenser (1552–1599)

Life. The non-dramatic literature of the period reaches its highest point in the work of Sidney's friend, Edmund Spenser. Born in London, in 1552, the son of a minor branch of the noble house of the Spensers of Althorpe, Spenser was educated at Cambridge. The chief incident of his external career was his ten years' sojourn in Ireland, whither he went as Secretary to Lord Grey, Elizabeth's Lord Deputy. This was brought to a tragic close by the rebellion of 1599, when his

house was burned down and he fled from the country to die ruined in his native city. Of the minor details of his life we know little, and his personality we have to infer from his writings. Though his genius was early recognized by good judges, Spenser did not achieve much worldly success, and there seem to be indications of the sadness, sometimes even the morose bitterness of a disappointed man in his references to his own times and fortunes. He had little humor, little even of the high spirits that gives so much Elizabethan writing an effect of exhilaration. He had a profound interest in moral questions, in the religious and philosophical movements of his day, and in the higher welfare of his country. Above all, he was in love with beauty, beauty of sound and of color, beauty of body and mind, and he sought in physical beauty a reflection of spiritual perfection. All of these things find a noble and imaginative expression in his poetry.

The Shepherds' Calendar. His first important work was *The Shepherds' Calendar*, published anonymously in 1579. This work is often regarded as the beginning of modern English poetry; for though experiments in the new manner had been made by men like Wyatt and Surrey, this is the earliest masterpiece after Chaucer which retains its hold on modern taste by its own merit as distinct from an historical interest. It is called a "Calendar" because its twelve poems are assigned to the twelve months of the year, and "Shepherds," because they are put into the mouths of speakers masquerading as shepherds, though really representing Spenser and his friends. The language is sprinkled with rustic words. Like the *Arcadia* of Sidney, then, it belongs to the class of literature known as pastoral. The "pastoral" begins with the descriptions of Sicilian shepherd life in the *Idyls* of Theocritus. It was taken up by Virgil in his *Eclogues* and by many Renaissance writers, and the rural landscapes and the conventional dress and speech of shepherds came to be more and more merely decorative elements, setting out or thinly disguising persons

and themes of more immediate and contemporary interest. In *The Shepherds' Calendar* the parts deal with a great variety of subjects — religion, politics, the state of poetry, the praise of the Queen; and there is an equal variety in the forms of the verse. Every once in a while a poem appears which not only gives delight in itself but opens up new pathways, new possibilities in poetry; such a poem was *The Shepherds' Calendar*.

From "The Shepherds' Calendar"

Intelligent readers saw in it at the time of its publication the sign of a new force in literature.

The Faerie Queene. The promise was fulfilled when in 1590 Spenser published the first three books of *The Faerie Queene*. This poem, the great representative of the Elizabethan age outside of the drama, was planned to consist of twelve books, but only a little more than half were written.

In an introductory letter to his friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, Spenser explained that the purpose of the book is "to fashion a noble gentleman"; that is, like Lyly's *Euphues*, it was meant to give moral instruction. This he aimed at doing, however,

not by bare precepts but by means of a story of adventure in which both characters and actions might have a double meaning. Thus, though *The Faerie Queene* is the typical work of the English Renaissance, it is in structure a combination of the two most common medieval forms — the metrical romance and the allegory. It is well to remember this, lest we come to think of the periods like the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as being divided from each other by a chasm, instead of running into each other and overlapping in innumerable ways as they really do.

The plan of the story as Spenser sketched it to Raleigh was this: The Queen of Faerie holds a feast for twelve days, and on each day a stranger in distress appears claiming help against a dragon or giant or tyrant. A knight is assigned to each guest, and the twelve books were to be concerned with the stories of the twelve adventures. Further, each knight was to represent a virtue, and his warfare the strife against the contrary vice — a continuation of one of the oldest allegorical formulas, and one which had been very familiar to the generations preceding Spenser's in the moralities. All the virtues were to be shown combined in Arthur, so that by this figure as well as by the nature of many of the incidents, the poem was related to the great tradition of the "matter of Britain."

Such was the program; but, as a matter of fact, many modifications were introduced as the writing proceeded. The six virtues exhibited in the books Spenser finished are Holiness, Temperance, Chastity, Friendship, Justice, and Courtesy, but not all are treated in the same fashion. Sometimes the allegory shows the contest of Virtue and Vice in the individual soul, sometimes in mankind at large, sometimes in the politics of England and the Continent. One character may stand for Pride or Despair, another for the Roman Church, another for Queen Elizabeth, Raleigh, Sidney, or the poet himself. Though the general moral drift can hardly be missed, much of the detail of the allegory is obscure and often tiresome to the modern reader.

For the last hundred years the popularity of *The Faerie Queene* has been due not mainly to its underlying meaning, but to the beauty of the imagery and sound in which the meaning is clothed. No English poet had a more musical ear than Spenser, and for this poem he invented the intricate but harmonious stanza called after him the Spenserian. An example of it may take the place of elaborate analysis.

He, making speedy way through spersed ayre,
And through the world of waters wide and deepe,
To Morpheus house doth hastily repaire.
Amid the bowels of the earth full steepe,
And low, where dawning day doth never peepe,
His dwelling is; there Tethys his wet bed
Doth ever wash, and Cynthia still doth steepe
In silver deaw his ever-drouping hed,
Whiles sad Night over him her mantle black doth spred.

Whose double gates he findeth locked fast,
The one faire fram'd of burnisht yvory,
The other all with silver overcast;
And wakeful dogges before them farre doe lye,
Watching to banish Care their enimy,
Who oft is wont to trouble gentle Sleepe.
By them the sprite doth passe in quietly,
And unto Morpheus comes, whom drowned deepe
In drowsie fit he findes: of nothing he takes keepe.

And more to lulle him in his slumber soft,
A trickling streame from high rock tumbling downe,
And ever drizling raine upon the loft,
Mixt with a murmuring winde, much like the sowne
Of swarming bees, did cast him in a swowne:
No other noyse, nor peoples troublous cryes,
As still are wont t'annoy the walled towne,
Might there be heard: but carelesse Quiet lyes,
Wrapt in eternall silence farre from enimyes.

Book I, Canto i, 39–41.

This stanza, with its interlacing rimes and its long twelve-syllabled line at the close, Spenser used with infinite variety —

for lofty moral teaching, for plain and rapid narrative, for vigorous battle scenes, for gorgeous pictures, for lyrical outbursts. He is always complete master of its technical difficulties and never falls into prosiness.

No less notable than the musical qualities of *The Faerie Queene* are the picturesque. In spite of its remoteness from actual life in the kind of incident it portrays, it is extraordinarily vivid; and the scenes of richly colored pictures rival the work of the painter in the distinctness of the impression they leave in the memory. He was criticized in his own day for using strange and obsolete terms, but he was an artist in words, drawing from the great treasury of the language for whatever was needed to enrich his music or his picture. Lofty as was the spirituality of Spenser, strict even to Puritanism as were his moral standards, he had great capacity for delight in the world of the senses; and it is through the lively use he makes of our powers of seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting, and smelling that he creates much of the charm of one of the loveliest poems in the world.

Lyrical Poems. Of his minor works, some dealing with the politics of the day have lost much of their interest, but two groups — his marriage poems and his sonnets — retain their charm. His *Epithalamion*, written to celebrate his own wedding, and his *Prothalamion*, on that of two noble ladies of the house of Somerset, are lyrics of extraordinary splendor both to the eye and to the ear. Not even in the best passages of *The Faerie Queene* is his verbal music more intoxicating than in such a stanza as this:

> There in a meadow of the river's side
> A flock of nymphs I chancèd to espy,
> All lovely daughters of the flood thereby,
> With goodly greenish locks all loose untied
> As each had been a bride;
> And each one had a little wicker basket
> Made of fine twigs, entrailèd curiously,
> In which they gather'd flowers to fill their flasket

And with fine fingers cropt full featously
The tender stalks on high.
Of every sort which in that meadow grew
They gather'd some: the violet, pallid blue,
The little daisy that at evening closes,
The virgin lily and the primrose true,
With store of vermeil roses,
To deck the bridegroom's posies
Against the bridal day, which was not long:
Sweet Thames! run softly, till I end my song.

Like Sidney and Shakespeare and a score of other poets of the time, Spenser wrote a series of sonnets. The *Amoretti*, as they are called, are supposed to deal with his own love affair, and they show the same mastery of musical versification as the rest of his work, though less passion than Sidney's and far less of the concentrated utterance of deep thinking and intense feeling that distinguishes those of Shakespeare.

Influence of Spenser. The wonderful control of language and meter exercised by Spenser could not fail to have a wide and permanent influence on the future of English poetry, and the very extent of this influence makes it impossible to define it. More specific is the imitation of his revival of allegory; and for a generation after his death one finds a considerable group of writers like Giles and Phineas Fletcher, who are as obviously descended from Spenser as the writers of the fifteenth century were from Chaucer. Even in as independent a genius as Milton, there is abundant evidence of discipleship, a discipleship which persists down to Keats and Tennyson.

Sir Walter Raleigh. The friend of Spenser's who has been mentioned as having received from him the explanation and plan of *The Faerie Queene*, and who was one of the first to read and appreciate that poem, is an appropriate figure with whom to close this summary of the non-dramatic literature of the period. For no one man so fully represents the many-sidedness of the Elizabethan age, or so completely embodies its spirit. Raleigh was a Devonshire gentleman who by his

SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND SON
(By a contemporary artist)

handsome person and chivalrous manners captivated the fancy of Elizabeth, and was retained by her at her court and for a time loaded with money and honors, though, like others who occupied a similar position, he was later cast out of favor. He was one of the Elizabethan sea-dogs who, like Drake and Frobisher, fought the enemies of England in the Spanish Main; and his efforts to found colonies in North America may be regarded as having laid the foundations of the British Empire. For fourteen years he lay a prisoner in the Tower, where he occupied his leisure writing a colossal *History of the World* and dabbling in chemistry and mechanical inventions; and after a last desperate voyage in search of a gold mine in Guiana, he was executed under James I on an old charge of treason, to please the king's Spanish friends. Man of action and man of thought, soldier, statesman, explorer, poet, historian, and scientist, Raleigh represents in his versatility and energy, his imagination, his daring, and his unscrupulousness, the essence of the Elizabethan.

But, as in the case of Sidney, Raleigh's personality and career make a deeper impression than his writing, though he was an accomplished writer. His *Discovery of Guiana* gives a vivid picture of exploration in the days when the New World was new; his *Last Fight of the Revenge* is hardly less notable as prose than Tennyson's ballad is as poetry; his *History of the World*, though full of legendary and miraculous stories, is in parts nobly written; and his handful of verses are of a quality to make us regret that they are so few.

The following passage, describing the last hour of the *Revenge* after its single-handed fight against a large Spanish fleet, is both a fine example of Raleigh's prose and an eloquent record of the national spirit which animated both men and books in the days of the great Queen.

All the powder of the *Revenge* to the last barrel was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sick-

THE

PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOIAGES, TRAFFIQVES AND DISCOVERIES of the English Nation, made by Sea or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1500. yeeres: Deuided into three seuerall Volumes, according to the positions of the Regions, whereunto they were directed.

This first Volume containing the woorthy Discoueries, &c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by sea, as of *Lapland*, *Scrikfinia*, *Corelia*, the Baie of S. *Nicolas*, the Isles of *Colgoicue*, *Vaigatz*, and *Noua Zembla*, toward the great riuer *Ob*, with the mighty Empire of *Russia*, the *Caspian* sea, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Boghar* in *Bactria*, and diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria*:

Together with many notable monuments and testimonies of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and other shipping of this realme of *England* in former ages.

Whereunto is annexed also a briefe Commentarie of the true state of *Island*, and of the Northren Seas and lands situate that way.

And lastly, the memorable defeate of the Spanish huge Armada, Anno 1588. and the famous victorie atchieued at the citie of *Cadiz*, *1596.* are described.

By RICHARD HAKLVYT *Master of* Artes, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford.

Imprinted at London by GEORGE BISHOP, RALPH NEWBERIE and ROBERT BARKER. 1598.

TITLE-PAGE OF HAKLUYT'S "VOYAGES," 1598

ness, and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the ballast, a small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By these hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings, and enterings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron, all manner of arms, and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left overhead, either for flight or defense.

Sir Richard, finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours' fight the assault of fifteen several armadas, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation eight hundred shot of great artillery, besides many assaults and entries; and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring about him (the *Revenge* not being able to move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billows of the sea), commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship, that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards, seeing in so many hours' fight, and with so great a navy, they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours' time, above ten thousand men, and fifty and three sail of men-of-war to perform it withal; and persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God, and to the mercy of none else; but, as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honor of their nation by prolonging their own lives for a few hours or a few days.

Summary. Rich as are the writings of the poets and prose authors we have enumerated, they represent but a fraction of the vast production of the age of the Tudors. Many notable names, many whole classes of works, must go unconsidered — the compilers of chronicles like Holinshed, of voyages and travels like Hakluyt and Purchas, the versifiers of history like the authors of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, the minor sonneteers like Daniel and Drayton, the throng of song writers who made all England vocal. But the main features of the great period will stay with us if we remember the work of the translators, the supreme achievements of Spenser, the careers of Sidney

and Raleigh, and add to them the crowning and most characteristic product of the age — the Elizabethan drama.

Guides to Study

Reading. Selections from Lyly's Euphues; Sidney's Arcadia; Spenser's Faerie Queene, Book I, Canto I; Epithalamion, and Prothalamion; The Shepherds' Calendar (February); Harrison's England (Scott Library). Lives of Julius Cæsar, Brutus, Cassius, and Marcus Antonius in Skeat's Shakespeare's Plutarch. In the Authorized Version read Genesis xxiv, 1 Samuel xvii, Ruth, and Corinthians xiii. The lyrics in the collections.

Novels dealing with this period are: Scott's Kenilworth and The Abbot, Kingsley's Westward Ho! Yonge's Unknown to History (Mary Queen of Scots). Poems: Tennyson's Revenge, Macaulay's Armada, Noyes's Drake, Marchaunt Adventurers, and Tales of the Mermaid Tavern; Campbell's Ye Mariners of England.

Green's Short History contains brilliant characterizations of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and Sir Philip Sidney; The Lady by Emily J. Putnam gives good pictures of the Elizabethans.

Questions. Why is the reign of Elizabeth famous? Name some of the great men. What changes were taking place in the life of the average citizen? What helped to bring about a change of themes? What can you say of the literature of translations? Who was Plutarch? What interest was there in fiction? What translations of the Bible were made in the sixteenth century?

What was the purpose of Euphues? What can you say of its style? What was its influence? Define "Euphuism." Who was Sir Philip Sidney? Compare the Arcadia with Lyly's Euphues. What is a pastoral? What else did Sidney write? What is a sonnet?

Tell the main facts about Edmund Spenser's life. In what things was he interested? What tastes had he in common with Sidney? How does The Shepherds' Calendar carry out the pastoral idea? With what other topics does it deal? What is the Spenserian stanza? What was the purpose of the Faerie Queene? Of what two medieval forms is it a combination? How is it typical of the Renaissance? Give the plan of the story. What do Epithalamion and Prothalamion mean? What has been Spenser's influence on English poetry? In what respects was Raleigh a typical Elizabethan? What did he write? Summarize the chapter.

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. The Spanish Main. Sir Walter Raleigh. Julius Cæsar in Plutarch and in Shakespeare. An Anecdote of a Modern Sir Philip Sidney (from the Great War). The Finest Story I Know in the Bible. What is Euphuism? Two Elizabethans, Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh. Color and Music in Spenser. A Character in the Faerie Queene. A Spenserian Stanza of My Own. The Elizabethan Courtier. Raleigh's and Tennyson's Revenge.

Chronological Table, 1564–1616

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
		1558. Elizabeth.
		1563. Thirty-Nine Articles.
1564. Shakespeare and Marlowe born.	1564. Galileo born. Calvin and Michael Angelo died.	
1565. Golding, Trans. Ovid.		
1566. Udall, *Ralph Roister Doister* printed.		
		1567. Mary Queen of Scots abdicated.
1568. Parker's (The Bishops') *Bible.*		
	1571. Benvenuto Cellini died.	
1570. Ascham. *Schoolmaster.*		
		1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Paris.
	1573. Camoens, *Lusiads.*	
	1574. Tasso, *Aminta.*	
1575. Gascoigne, *Steel Glass.* The Theater, first London playhouse.		
	1576. Hans Sachs died.	
1577. Holinshed, *Chronicle.*		
1579. Gosson, *School of Abuse.* Lyly, *Euphues.* North, Trans. Plutarch's *Lives.* Spenser, *Shepherds' Calendar.*		
1580. Stowe, *Chronicle.*	1580. Montaigne, *Essays.*	
1581. Sidney, *Apology for Poetry* (not printed until 1595).	1581. Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered.*	
1582. Hakluyt, *Voyages.*		
1584. Lyly, Peele, plays printed.		1584. William of Orange assassinated.
	1585. Ronsard died.	1585. Raleigh attempts to found colony of Virginia.
1586. Shakespeare goes to London (?). Sir Philip Sidney killed.		
1587. Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* acted. Kyd, Greene, Peele, and Lyly writing for the theaters.	1587. Faust Book printed at Frankfort.	1587. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
		1588. Defeat of Spanish Armada.
		1589. Henry of Navarre King of France.
1590. Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost, Comedy of Errors, Henry VI* acted at about this time. Spenser, *Faerie Queene,* books i-iii. Lodge, *Rosalind.*	1590. Guarini, *Faithful Shepherd.*	
1591. Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella.*		
1592. Greene, *Groatsworth of Wit;* died.	1592. Montaigne died.	
1593. Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis.* Marlowe died.		1593. Plague in London.

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1594. Shakespeare, *Lucrece.* Many plays printed, *Friar Bacon, Edward II, Titus Andronicus,* etc. Lord Chamberlain's players, Shakespeare's company organized.		
1595. Spenser, *Epithalamion.*		1595. Tyrone's Rebellion in Ireland.
1596. Raleigh, *Discovery of Guiana.* Spenser, *Faerie Queene,* books iv-vi.		
1597. Bacon, *Essays.* Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet, Richard II, Richard III,* printed. *Merchant of Venice, Midsummer Night's Dream* had also probably been acted.		
1598. Chapman, Trans. *Iliad.* Drayton, *Heroic Epistles.* Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour* acted. Meres, *Palladis Tamia.*		
1599. Globe Theater built. Spenser died.		
1600. Jonson, Middleton, Marston, Heywood, Chapman and Dekker among the chief playwrights. Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar* probably acted.	1600. Calderon born.	1600. East India Company incorporated.
1602. *Hamlet* acted.		1601. Essex Rebellion.
1603. Jonson, *Sejanus* acted. *Hamlet,* 1st Quarto. Shakespeare's company becomes the king's.		1603. James I.
1604. *Othello* acted.		
1605. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning.*	1605. Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* part I.	1605. Gunpowder Plot.
	1606. Corneille born.	1606. Plymouth and London companies.
		1607. Settlement at Jamestown, Virginia.
1608. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster,* acted. Milton born.		1608. Champlain founds Quebec.
1609. Shakespeare, *Sonnets.*		
1610. Jonson, *Alchemist* acted. Shakespeare, *Tempest* acted.		1610. Henry IV of France assassinated.
1611. Shakespeare, *A Winter's Tale* acted.		
1612. Webster, *White Devil,* printed.		
1613. Shakespeare, *Henry VIII* acted. Shakespeare retired.		
1614. Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* acted. Raleigh, *History of the World.*		
1616. Shakespeare and Beaumont died.	1616. Cervantes died.	

CHAPTER VII

THE AGE OF SHAKESPEARE: THE DRAMA, 1564–1616

INTRODUCTION. The Drama. The School of Shakespeare. "Elizabethan."

SHAKESPEARE'S PREDECESSORS. Adult and Child Actors. The Theaters. Actors and Audience. Changes in Drama. Dramatic Forms. Comedy. John Lyly. Robert Greene. History. Tragedy. Marlowe. Poetry in Drama. Preparing for Shakespeare.

SHAKESPEARE. Life. First Period, Second Period, Third Period, Fourth Period. *As You Like It. Henry V. Julius Cæsar. Hamlet.* Invention. Characterization. Poetry. Moral Teaching.

SHAKESPEARE'S SUCCESSORS. Height of Drama. Ben Jonson. Beaumont and Fletcher. Decline of the Drama.

SUMMARY.

The Drama. The School of Shakespeare. Even if Shakespeare had never lived we should still marvel at the Elizabethan drama because of its reflection of the stir and accomplishment of its own era and because of its lasting human interest. But Shakespeare was the chief of the Elizabethan dramatists as well as a genius whose writings have influenced every age and country. The theater in which he worked and the fellow poets with whom he associated become of the greatest interest to us since they formed the training school in which he learned his art. We shall need, therefore, to occupy two somewhat different outlooks as we study this drama of which he was a part. We may look at it as an important development of literature in an interesting epoch and also as the school which helped to educate the greatest English poet.

"Elizabethan." The term "Elizabethan" is usually applied somewhat loosely to the drama produced during the reigns of Elizabeth and of her successors, James I and Charles I.

The rapid growth of the drama had hardly begun at her accession, so it may be convenient to think of the epoch as extending from 1576, the date of the building of the Theater, the first London playhouse, until 1642, when the Puritans closed the theaters.

Shakespeare's Predecessors

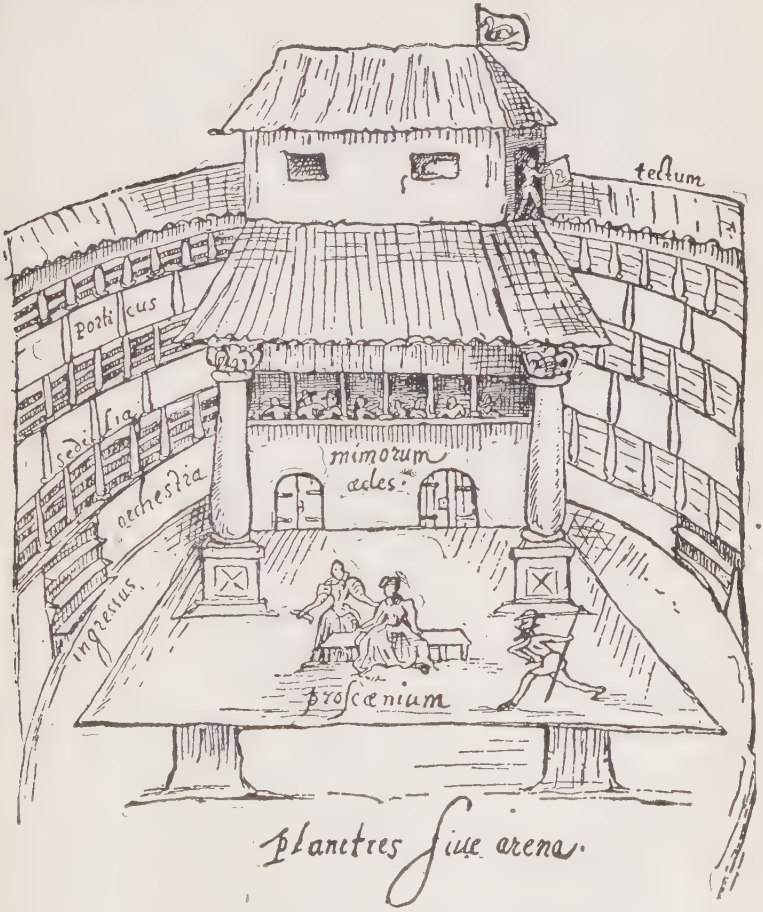
Adult and Child Actors. A few months after the Theater was built for adult actors a playhouse was opened in a room in the old Blackfriars monastery for boy actors. These two theaters represent two different developments in the profession. The children were drawn from the choirs of the royal chapel, or of St. Paul's Cathedral, who had since the time of Henry VIII given performances at court. They were now permitted to act in public, and they influenced in many ways the character of the plays produced. From time to time they appear as rivals to the adult actors, and are alluded to in *Hamlet* as the "little eyases" who are carrying applause away from Shakespeare's own company. The main business of acting, however, passed to the professional companies. These had been growing in importance for some time and acted here and there about the country or in innyards of London. The law authorized them to obtain licenses from noblemen, but the mayor and aldermen compelled them to build their theaters outside the city limits. The leading companies were often called upon to act at court, and they usually had the support of the court officials in their conflicts with the London authorities. But their main support was not from the court but from the public which thronged their rude theaters and gladly paid from a penny to a shilling to see a play. The drama by 1576, then, was coming into the hands of professional actors, organized into companies, and having regular theaters in the outskirts of London. It was also established as a popular form of entertainment — as novel and as popular as the movies in our own day. It was the first form of modern literature to stand on a

thoroughly democratic basis, and appeal to the interest of the general public.

The Theaters. Of the public playhouses, the Theatre and the Curtain were built in the fields to the north of the city; the Rose, Swan, Hope, and Globe on the Bankside, south of the Thames. They were wooden buildings, usually nearly circular in form, with tiers of galleries surrounding the roofless pit. The stage was a platform projecting into the pit, and was without scenery, footlights, or a front curtain. Curtains in the rear concealed an inner room which was used for hiding and discovering persons or furniture. Over it was a balcony and on either side a door. On the front stage the actors were very close to the audience, which surrounded them on three sides. The stage gave little or no indication of locality; it stood for any place, indoors or out; and when the scene was finished and the actors had retired, it might represent an entirely different place for the next scene. The balcony overhead, which might represent an upper room or the walls of a city or some other elevated place, and the curtained alcove, which might represent a cave, study, or shop, or other interior, furnished means to indicate particular localities. Chairs, beds, and other pieces of furniture were sometimes brought down front; and whatever remained there at the close of the play — whether furniture or the bodies of the slain — must be borne off before the eyes of the spectators.

Actors and Audience. There were no women actresses, and women's parts were always taken by boys. Boys played Juliet and Cleopatra as well as the fairies in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*. A great deal of money was spent on costume, though there was no regard for historical accuracy. A manager would often pay more for a velvet cloak than for the manuscript of a play. We hear of all sorts of dresses including "one gown to go invisible in." The spectators in the pit paid a penny and stood throughout the performance. The galleries had benches and boxes for which higher prices were charged; and gallants

sometimes had stools on the stage itself. Performances were by daylight in the afternoon, and the same play was never



THE SWAN THEATER
(From a contemporary drawing)

given two days running. The so-called private theaters, like that in Blackfriars, were indoor rooms, lighted by candles and

with seats in the pit. Later they became more fashionable than the outdoor playhouses, and were patronized by those who could pay the higher rates of admission.

Changes in the Drama. Throughout western Europe the drama was undergoing changes similar to those in England. Everywhere professional actors were gaining success, and everywhere the old forms of miracle and morality were giving way to adaptations of the classical forms of tragedy and comedy. Instead of drama from the Bible and from saints' lives, as in the miracles, and instead of allegories of abstract qualities, as in the moralities, the drama was coming to present stories of all sorts with individual men and women. At first efforts were made by scholars and court poets to imitate closely the classical plays in both subject matter and form. Such attempts are the first English comedy, *Ralph Roister Doister*, and the first tragedy, *Gorboduc*. But the dramatists found a vast wealth of stories which had never been dramatized, and these stories did not readily lend themselves to the models of Latin comedy and tragedy. In England the popular audiences cared very little for form; they wanted stories and persons, and they wanted a fresh play every day. As a result everything was tried upon the stage, heaven and hell, Asia and Africa, fairies and dragons, battles and coronations. It was through a free and daring experimentation that the drama developed.

Dramatic Forms. As soon as the permanent theaters were built, however, it was possible to have long performances. The short play or interlude gave place to a drama which would take two or three hours to play, and was usually divided into five acts after Latin practice. Gradually, too, the classical forms, though they were not closely followed, served to direct the development of English tragedy and comedy. Shakespeare's plays, when they were first collected, were divided into three groups: comedies, histories, and tragedies. Although there were other kinds of plays, we can follow the main steps of the development of the English drama under these three heads.

Comedy. Comedy was a very general term applied to all dramas in which the comic element was prominent. Its simplest form was farce, a play of ridiculous incident, usually with a clown as chief fun-maker. Many of the moralities contained large mixtures of farce, and every company of actors had one skilled clown. A more elaborate kind of farce was suggested by the Latin plays of Plautus and Terence, themselves modeled on Greek comedy, which were everywhere studied and admired during the Renaissance. These plays usually deal with a plot of tricks, a clever slave being the chief manipulator, and often the trickster himself is tricked. Aged parents, young people in love, braggart soldiers, pedants, parasites, and tricky servants make up the *dramatis personæ*. Comedy in England often followed this general model, but it soon developed into two fairly distinct species. One main division, realistic comedy, dealt with contemporary manners, with usual events, with commonplace people, and often ridiculed current fashions and fads. Romantic comedy, dealing with past or foreign scenes, with unusual adventures, with idealized persons, and having romantic love as its theme, proved on the whole better suited to Elizabethan taste. It had its origin partly in the spirit of the time, with its imaginative delight in the strange and novel, partly in the host of stories, whether classical, Italian, or what not, which were romantic in tone, and partly in the child actors who we have seen were for a time the chief performers at court. These choir boys with their trained voices proved well suited to a fantastic enter-

Tarleton as Clown

tainment, with songs, dances, plenty of sentiment, and a more refined fun than that of the professional clowns. The personages of Olympus, or those of fairyland, or of the New World, could be mimicked by the children better than by the adults.

John Lyly. For the child actors, John Lyly, whom we have already met as the author of *Euphues*, wrote a number of comedies, all but one in prose. They are interesting to-day mainly because they taught Shakespeare how a court entertainment might be fashioned into a comedy full of lively wit and fantastic charm. They prepared the way for *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *As You Like It*. Lyly usually took the hint for a play from some marvelous story from classical mythology — the love of a mortal for the moon, Midas whose touch turned everything to gold, or the sudden transformation by the gods of a nymph into a tree or bird or boy. Such a story he might supply with an allegorical meaning that would apply to court affairs; thus Midas represents Philip of Spain, and Diana is Elizabeth. Pastoral scenes with shepherds, hunters, nymphs, and trees give an appropriate setting for gods and goddesses and other mythological creatures such as satyrs, fauns, sirens, witches, and fairies. Several pairs of lovers help to complicate the plot, until the difficulties are removed and each lover finds his proper mate. A number of pages supply most of the nonsense and wit. This wit is largely verbal, consisting of puns, quibbles, and a rapid exchange of repartee. Since the actors are all choir boys, gods and goddesses, shepherds and nymphs, lovers and pages can all sing; and there are some charming lyrics:

> Cupid and my Campaspe played
> At cards for kisses, Cupid paid.
> He stakes his quiver, bow, and arrows,
> His mother's doves, and team of sparrows,
> Loses them too. Then, down he throws
> The coral of his lip, the rose
> Growing on's cheek (but none knows how),
> With these, the crystal of his brow,

And then the dimple of his chin.
All these did my Campaspe win.
At last, he set her both his eyes,
She won, and Cupid blind did rise.
O Love! has she done this to thee?
What shall, alas, become of me?

Robert Greene. Robert Greene, like Lyly, was a university man who was forced to earn his own living by his pen. He

ROBERT GREENE
(*From "Greene in Conceipt,"* 1598)

wrote all sorts of books, moral tales, love stories, Euphuistic novels, and pamphlets exposing the tricks of the London thieves and sharpers. The hero of one of his novels when in distress falls in with a company of players who assure him that he can make a good living writing for them. Greene, too, found that

the theaters as well as the booksellers would buy his wares. According to his own account, he lived an immoral and abominable life, and we know that he deserted his wife, associated with London thieves, and died in misery and squalor, begging forgiveness of his wife and exhorting his fellow dramatists to forsake their evil ways. But Greene was fond of repenting and of selling his repentances. When we consider how much he wrote and under what difficulties, we may wonder what time there was left for wickedness. Some of the Elizabethan playwrights doubtless lived a hand-to-mouth Bohemian existence, but they were hard workers.

Greene's best plays are *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and *James IV*. The first tells of the conflicts between Roger Bacon and a rival magician; the second gives a pseudo-historical account of a war between England and Scotland; but in both plays the interest lies chiefly in the sympathetic portrayal of the charming heroines. In *James IV*, Queen Dorothea is abused by the king and forced to flee from court. She goes dressed as a boy and accompanied by a faithful servant, a dwarf. She has various adventures, is forced to fight, is made love to by the wife of her rescuer. Her death is reported at court. Just as the army of her husband is about to fight the army of her father, who seeks to punish the guilty James, Dorothea appears between the armies and brings about a reconciliation. It will be seen that romantic comedy even before Shakespeare was familiar with some of the material which we know best in his plays, with witty dialogue, charming lyrics, faithful and witty pages, heroines disguised as boys, woodland scenes, mythological persons, and happy reconciliations.

History. Historical plays were of many kinds, but the majority dealt with English reigns and were based on the chronicle histories. The growth of patriotism which culminated in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, made presentations of English history very popular on the stage; and the dramatists found abundant material in the many chronicles that had re-

cently been printed. One of these chronicles was sure to contain a great many events, and sometimes the dramatist would require several plays to cover a single reign. He paid little attention to plot, and still less to the three unities of time, place, and action, which the classicists urged as essential to good dramatic construction. By unity of action was meant a single complete action; by unity of place, action confined to a single place, or at most to one city; by unity of time the action was to be limited to the time occupied by the play, or at the most to twenty-four hours. A chronicle history play usually represented many actions, extending over one or even several countries, and taking place through a period of many years. It would usually find opportunity for some patriotic eloquence, and always for some show scenes, such as embassies, processions, and especially battles. Otherwise it had no rules. The chronicle material might be turned into a tragedy, but the more characteristic form was a mixture of the heroic and comic, of princes and clowns, battles and jokes, that would make historic events vivid for the London public.

Tragedy. Tragedy originated in the Greek religious festivals and had received a marvelous development in the Athenian dramatists, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Their plays, though restricted in themes to the tragic stories of Greek myth, and restricted in presentation to two or three actors speaking always in the presence of a chorus, yet presented the human mind in the face of crimes and ruin with a beauty of language and a philosophical insight that are still unrivaled except in the plays of Shakespeare. The Elizabethans, however, like other men of the Renaissance, knew comparatively little of the Greek drama, and were rather influenced by the Latin tragedies of Seneca, who in turn had imitated the Greeks. His gruesome stories of bloodshed and horror, his showy philosophizing, his artificial and rhetorical style were the models for many of the poets who attempted tragedy. The dramatists, writing for the public theaters, discarded his chorus, though they kept

his ghosts and horrid deeds; but they mixed these with scenes of farcical clownage.

Marlowe. The general conceptions of tragedy which the Elizabethans derived from the classics were that it might deal with the fate of princes, or with the retribution or revenge for a crime committed by persons of high rank, that it must end with death, and that it might be made the opportunity for poetry and philosophy. This rather crude conception was given a new direction by the genius of Christopher Marlowe. Born in 1564, the same year as Shakespeare, he was educated at Cambridge, and in 1587 took the public theaters by storm with the first part of his *Tamburlaine*. This and his succeeding plays, in their disregard of the unities and of the Senecan rhetoric, are more like the chronicle history plays of that day than the imitations of classical tragedy. But in each play Marlowe presents a man of commanding personality swayed by an overpowering passion. In *Tamburlaine*, it is ambition; in *Dr. Faustus*, desire for knowledge; in the *Jew of Malta*, greed of wealth. The tragic fate lies in the certainty that these inordinate desires will lead to disappointment and defeat. The deaths of these protagonists are not merely the close of life, they are the catastrophes which end struggles that reveal the greatness of human effort.

Marlowe was trying to give imaginative expression to these aspirations and ambitions, and at the same time to write plays that would succeed in the theater. *Tamburlaine* is a succession of battles, processions, assassinations, conquests — which must have crowded the stage, and which reached their culmination when the conqueror harnessed the defeated kings to his chariot and drove them about, crying:

> Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!
> What! can ye draw but twenty miles a day?

In the *Jew of Malta*, the hero who declaims magnificently in the beginning soon becomes an absurd and monstrous villain

who meets a well-earned end when he falls into the cauldron of boiling fat which he has prepared for his enemies.

Poetry in the Drama. Marlowe was the first to establish blank verse as the regular measure for tragedy. Though it abounds in rant and bombast, yet it is the verse of a great poet, sonorous, musical, often exquisite in its fancy, and again sweeping us along with its eloquence. Faustus calls to Helen —

> Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
> And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?
> . . . . . .
> Oh, thou art fairer than the evening air
> Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars!

The greatest scenes of all are the catastrophes; as when the hour has come for Faustus's damnation and he cries out for mercy —

> See, see, where Christ's blood streams in the firmament.
> One drop would save my soul — half a drop: ah, my Christ!
> Ah, rend not my heart for naming of the Christ!
> Yet will I call on him: O spare me, Lucifer!
> Where is it now? 'tis gone! and see where God
> Stretcheth out his arm, and bends his ireful brows.
> Mountains and hills come, come and fall on me
> And hide me from the heavy wrath of God!

Or in the last speech of Edward II, who, sunk from his splendid state, kept in prison and filth, faces the murderer sent by the queen.

> And there in mire and puddle have I stood
> This ten days' space; and, lest that I should sleep,
> One plays continually upon a drum.
> They give me bread and water, being a king,
> So that, for want of sleep and sustenance,
> My mind's distempered, and my body's numbed,
> And whether I have limbs or not, I know not.
> O, would my blood dropped out from every vein,
> As doth this water from my tattered robes.
> Tell Isabel, the queen, I looked not thus,
> When for her sake I ran at tilt in France
> And there unhorsed the Duke of Cleremont.

Marlowe died in a tavern brawl at the age of twenty-nine, with his powers undeveloped, his promise unfulfilled. Greatly admired by his fellows, his plays were much imitated, and the stage was soon full of ranting conquerors and scheming villains. But he taught more than this — that the public drama might give an imaginative poetical interpretation to human emotion; and Shakespeare was one of the pupils who learned this lesson. Marlowe had made blank verse the vehicle of the drama, and he had brought passion and poetry to the English theater.

Preparing for Shakespeare. With the deaths of Greene in 1592 and of Marlowe in 1593, the first period of the Elizabethan drama comes to an end. The theater was firmly established, not only as a place for popular entertainment, but as offering the means for a noble and poetical literature. The old medieval forms of drama had disappeared, and the danger of a servile imitation of the classics was past. Comedy, history, and tragedy in many varieties presented character and story with a wealth of fancy and invention, revealing human motive with true insight and adorning the language with an abundance of imagery. George Peele, Thomas Kyd, and Thomas Lodge were some of the other playwrights besides Lyly, Greene, and Marlowe who were Shakespeare's predecessors. His earliest plays were written at the time when they were the pioneers of the drama, and he was quick to emulate their imaginative daring and to profit from their examples.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616)

Life. William Shakespeare was born at Stratford-on-Avon, in 1564. He probably studied Latin in the village school, and his plays show that he had read widely in the books current in his day, but we know little of his education. He left Stratford about 1586, and in 1592 he was well known in London as an actor and a playwright. In the next few years he published two poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, dedicated to the

SHAKESPEARE

Earl of Southampton, and by this time he was also writing some of the sonnets. His life seems to have lacked the adventure found in the careers of many Elizabethans and indeed in those of some of his fellow dramatists. He early became a member of one of the leading dramatic companies and he continued a shareholder in its profits until his death. After

Shakespeare's Birthplace as Restored at the Present Day

several changes of patrons it became known as the Lord Chamberlain's company, and under the reign of James the First was known as the King's company. It occupied the Theatre, and later the Globe and the Blackfriars. It was well managed and constantly prosperous, owing doubtless to the fact that among its members were Richard Burbage, the chief actor of the time, and William Shakespeare, who wrote for it regularly at the rate of two plays a year. Shakespeare

prospered with the other shareholders and was able to buy property in London and a considerable estate at Stratford. He had married there when eighteen. His only son died there in 1596, and his daughters married citizens of Stratford.

Shakespeare's plays were popular both in the theaters and at court, but less than half were printed. It was only late in his career that men began to realize that his successful and entertaining dramas were to be a part of the world's great literature. Shakespeare does not appear as an actor after 1603, but he continued writing plays for nearly ten years more, when he retired to Stratford, where he died in 1616. The first collected edition of his plays was the Folio of 1623.

Shakespeare's plays arranged chronologically fall into four periods as shown in the table on page 130.

First Period. The first period, 1590–1594, is that of apprenticeship, in which he was making over old plays or writing new ones largely in imitation of other men. The influence of Lyly and Greene is apparent in his comedies, and the early histories and tragedies owe much to Marlowe.

Second Period. In the second period, 1594–1600, Shakespeare far excelled all his contemporaries in history and romantic comedy. In wit, sentiment, beauty of verse, in variety of character, and in the charm and reality of his women, these plays rank among the masterpieces.

Third Period. The third period, 1601–1609, was devoted largely to tragedy. Here Shakespeare not only surpassed his great contemporaries, he surpassed himself. In depth of thought, in searching analysis of human motive, in the expression of the profoundest feelings, the great series of tragedies from *Hamlet* to *Antony and Cleopatra* make one of the most magnificent creations of the human mind.

Fourth Period. In the fourth period, 1609–1613, Shakespeare returned to comedies, or tragicomedies, romantic in tone and ending in happy reconciliations. He is not quite at his best

here, except in *The Tempest*, which reveals his imagination as original and amazing as ever.

A glance at a few representative plays may indicate further the qualities in which Shakespeare surpassed his fellows and

TABLE OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

PERIODS	COMEDIES	HISTORIES	TRAGEDIES
I	L. L. L. 1591 C. of E. 1591 T. G. of V. 1591–2	1 Hy. VI 1590–1 2 Hy. VI 1590–2 3 Hy. VI 1590–2 R. III 1593 K. J. 1593	T. And. 1593–4
II	M. N. D. 1594–5 M. of V. 1595–6 T. of S. 1596–7 M. W. of W. 1598 M. Ado 1599 A. Y. L. I. 1599–1600 Tw. N. 1601	R. II 1595 1 Hy. IV 1597 2 Hy. IV 1598 Hy. V 1599	R. and J. 1594–5 J. Cæs. 1599
III	T. & C. 1601–2 A. Well 1602 Meas. 1603 Per. 1607–8		Ham. 1602, 1603 Oth. 1604 Lear 1605–6 Macb. 1606 T. of Ath. 1607 A. & Cl. 1607–8 Cor. 1609
IV	Cymb. 1610 W. Tale 1611 Temp. 1611 T. N. K. 1612–13	Hy. VIII 1612	

has retained the admiration of three centuries of playgoers and readers.

As You Like It. *As You Like It* may be taken as representative of the romantic comedies. There are two heroines, an exiled duke, his fellow outlaws, among them a philosopher, a merry clown, a few simple country people, a hero in love with

one of the heroines, and his rascal brother who reforms sufficiently to be allowed to marry the other. Most of these persons can be found in plays by other Elizabethans, but here they are excellently mixed. Lovers are apt to be very serious persons, but these are accompanied by a lively jester who does his own love-making in anything but the usual serious style. Dukes in exile are generally rather melancholy, but these cheerful outlaws have saddled all their melancholy upon Jaques, who seems to enjoy it. Everything has its counterpart and balance. Romance and fun, heroism and puns, adventure and wisdom, songs and perils, poetry and nonsense enter hand in hand and dance together. And they are provided with a most delightful home in the Forest of Arden, where it never rains, where the only sermons and lessons are in the stones and running brooks, where the trees are made for lovers' verses, and where all is bound to come out finely in the end. Yet in the land of romance the inhabitants are very real persons, and the most real of all is the most charming. Rosalind mixes her sentiment with humor and her humor with good sense. Her sensitiveness and her sympathy go with an alertness of mind and a self-reliance in action, and she is the undoubted monarch of this fairy forest. There is little satire in the play, though some human follies are greeted with laughter, but the lesson of the play is the lesson of a joyful, healthful acceptance of the fun, the sentiment, the joyfulness which can be found in life as well as in Arden. All this Shakespeare set forth in a play of such universal dramatic appeal that it is suited for acting on the stage of the Globe or by schoolgirls to-day.

Henry V. *Henry V* represents another type of play, the chronicle history. Here Shakespeare was writing of some of the most famous events of his country's history and of the national hero of the Hundred Years' War, Henry V. In the earlier plays, *1* and *2 Henry IV*, this hero had appeared as Prince Hal, accompanied by a wicked but most amusing fat knight, Sir John Falstaff. At the end of the second of these

plays he had shaken off his youthful follies, and now he is every inch a king. In one respect the play is inferior to the two earlier, for Falstaff, the greatest of all humorous characters, does not appear. But there are the comic adventures of some notable rascals of Falstaff's crew and the frivolities of the French to give contrast to the royal hero. He is presented in many situations, in council, as judge punishing offenders, as leader weighed down by responsibility, as orator, as general, and as wooer of the Princess Katharine. And in all these different aspects, how thoroughly alive he is! The heroism and the glory, the comedy and the frivolity, the great battle-field and the council chamber, all make the background for this full sized portrait. Shakespeare himself has testified to the difficulty of bringing these great scenes and persons of English history upon the narrow stage of the Globe.

> O for a Muse of fire, that would ascend
> The brightest heaven of invention,
> A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
> And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!
> Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
> Assume the port of Mars; and at his heels,
> Leash'd in like hounds, should famine, sword, and fire
> Crouch for employment. But pardon, gentles all,
> The flat unraised spirits that hath dar'd
> On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
> So great an object. Can this cockpit hold
> The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram
> Within this wooden O the very casques
> That did affright the air at Agincourt?

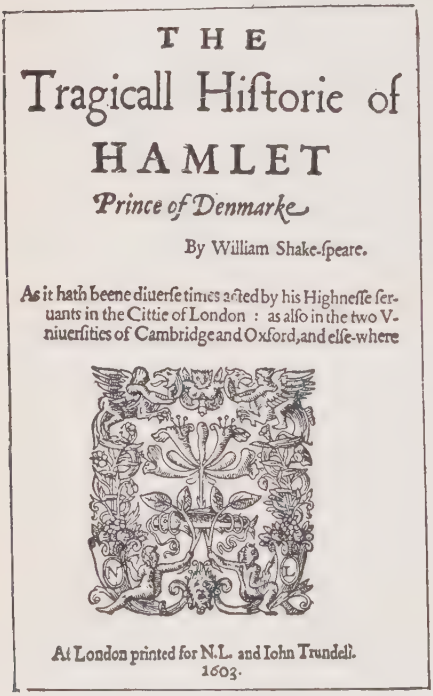
But he did succeed in making that wooden circle feel the thrill and movement of England's greatness. In the Great War, when English soldiers arranged a theater behind the trenches in France, *Henry V* was one of the first plays given. And the audience rose, as brave men have always done, to the spirit of Henry's splendid declamation:

Once more into the breach, dear friends, once more,
Or close the wall up with our English dead.
In peace there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility:
But when the blast of war blows in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the tiger;
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,
Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage;
Then lend the eye a terrible aspect;
Let it pry through the portage of the head
Like the brass cannon; let the brow o'erwhelm it
As fearfully as does a galled rock
O'erhang and jutty his confounded base,
Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean.
Now set the teeth and stretch the nostril wide,
Hold hard the breath, and bend up every spirit
To his full height. On, on, you noblest English,
Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof!

Julius Cæsar. It is easy to understand that the Elizabethans would take a patriotic interest in plays of English history, but it is certainly a testimony to the educative influence of the drama that popular audiences could be drawn to hear plays about Cæsar and Coriolanus. Shakespeare took the material for *Julius Cæsar* from Plutarch's *Lives*, which gave in addition to an account of events full interpretations of the persons and an especially sympathetic portrayal of Brutus. In the play all the characters are drawn with great distinctness, but they are no longer merely portraits. No one ever realized better than Shakespeare that the essential of serious drama is the conflict of human motives. *Julius Cæsar* is a succession of such conflicts. Sometimes the struggle is in the heart of Brutus; sometimes between two persons, as Brutus and Cassius, Cæsar and Calpurnia, Antony and Octavius; again, it is between orator and people, or between two great parties contending for an empire; but everywhere the stage spectacle of ceremony, assassination, and battle reveals the inner warfare of human wills. These conflicts, it must be noted, are given a poetical appeal

to the imagination and also a representation of extraordinary interest to the eye as well as to the ear.

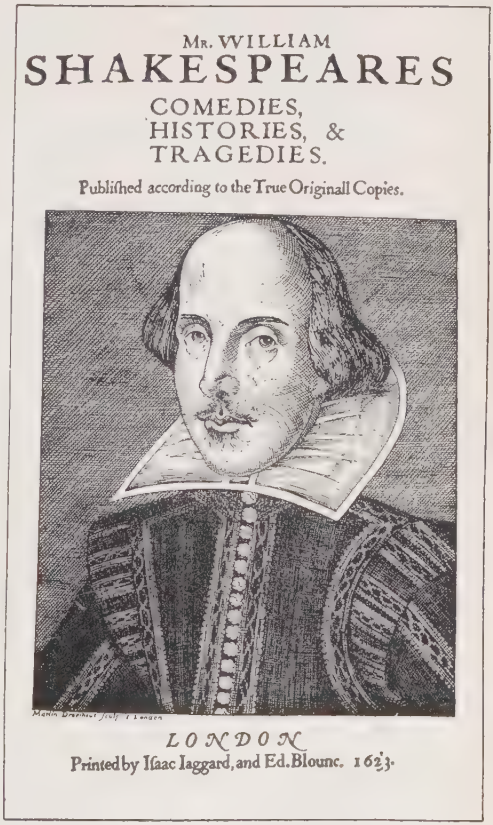
Take, for example, the scene of Cæsar's funeral. The two orations of Brutus and Antony are most typical of the speakers and illustrate many traits of their characters. They are, moreover, nobly poetical, lifting the historical occasion in our imaginations to an impressive grandeur. But the orations in themselves would be of small importance in the dramatic presentation were it not for the mob. It is the mob which makes this the best acting scene in the play. In the mob, all that Brutus and Antony think or say becomes translated into visible, tumultuous, exciting stage action. But the reader who never goes to the theater has displayed to him the drama of life if not the drama of the stage. The tragedy of *Julius Cæsar* has made ancient Rome real to many a theatergoer, but Shakespeare's Romans seek their full interpretation from the imaginations of the generations of readers who have yielded or will yield to the sway of his poetry.


THE
Tragicall Hiſtorie of
HAMLET
Prince of Denmarke
By William Shake-ſpeare.
As it hath beene diuerſe times acted by his Highneſſe ſeruants in the Cittie of London : as alſo in the two Vniuerſities of Cambridge and Oxford, and elſe-where
At London printed for N.L. and Iohn Trundell.
1603.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST QUARTO OF "HAMLET"

Hamlet. Of the tragedies, each has qualities which give it a claim to preëminence; but it is *Hamlet* that has most oc-

cupied men's minds. Its theme of the vengeance of a son on the murderer of his father was not new on the Elizabethan stage. At about the time of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* Thomas Kyd had written *The Spanish Tragedy*, telling of the revenge of a father for a son. This had been extremely popular and had been followed by a *Hamlet*, which is lost but was probably by Kyd, using the main outlines of the story as we know it in Shakespeare. *The Spanish Tragedy* had introduced the story of a revenge directed by a ghost, and finally accomplished only after hesitation, dissimulation, and real or pretended madness on the part of the avenger. There had also been several later plays treating of the revenge of a son for a father and using ghosts, graveyards, a play within a play, and many soliloquies. So Shakespeare was working in a field that had been well tilled by his predecessors.



TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST FOLIO OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

(*From the Copy in the British Museum*)

He kept to the old story, but he transformed the very events of that story by the originality of his genius. In comparison with all preceding or succeeding ghost scenes, the magnificent opening of *Hamlet* is like a new world. The play within the play, the funeral of Ophelia, the catastrophe, though they all have similarities to contemporary drama, carry on the story with a sweep and magnitude that are Shakespeare's own. But the outward clash of events, in which Hamlet struggles against Claudius and Laertes to the final ruin, is paralleled by an inner conflict in the mind of Hamlet. His soliloquies reveal the varying states of mind of a noble nature facing a task for which his very excellences and abilities render him unfit. The character of Hamlet thus becomes typical of human nature in its most tragic ordeals, and finds a response from every one who has ever stood helpless before evil, suffering, or ruin. The play does not present a clear exposition of an individual, such as we have in Henry V, or even of the sharply defined clash of motives, as in Brutus, but rather it is the poetry of our reflections on life, duty, and death, the words supplied for the emotions that arise in the great crises of life, the echo of man's spiritual trials and torments.

Invention. Shakespeare has been the subject of an enormous amount of study by many nations through many generations, and it is impossible to suggest how broad and how deep has been his effect upon the world. Any schoolboy, however, must feel something of the power of his invention. We have been studying him in connection with the Elizabethan drama, of which his work was a part, and we have found him often using old stories, always writing with an effort for theatrical success, and frequently following the methods of his fellow dramatists. But the power and copiousness of his invention nevertheless stand out unparalleled. Consider the bare scheme of *The Tempest*. Suppose an author should say to you, — "I am going to write a play about an uninhabited island where an exiled duke and his daughter have found refuge. She has

been brought up without ever seeing any man except her father. He, a great magician, causes his enemies to be shipwrecked on the island, so that the young prince may meet and fall in love with his daughter and thus provide the means for a general reconciliation and forgiveness. On the island is a strange animal, half beast, with all the baser human instincts, but with a touch of higher human inspiration. In company with some rogues from the shipwrecked company he will seek to rob and kill the magician; but his efforts will be thwarted by a tiny fairy, a spirit of the air, who has become the servant of the magician." — Even this brief account shows an astonishing conception. If you read *The Tempest* you will see how marvelously Shakespeare's invention continued to work in every step in carrying out the conception. In the few plays that we have examined you may find many instances of this same creative power. Touchstone's wooing of Audrey, Dame Quickly's account of Falstaff's death, the opening scene of *Hamlet*, each in its way, like the general scheme of *The Tempest*, is an unrivaled work of creation.

Characterization. The invention is accompanied by superb powers of characterization and poetical expression. Shakespeare has created a host of persons to live with us and he has made us see their virtues and failings, their likeness to ourselves, their meaning for our lives. In Rosalind we have seen an idealization of woman made alive and delightful; in Henry V, a national hero given a many-sided and vigorous reality; in Hamlet, the sympathetic analysis of finest intelligence beset by doubt and hesitation amid the most difficult circumstances. And these are only three among the thousand men and women who were born of his imagination.

Poetry. Each one of these persons, so lifelike, so impressive, is known to us really only as so many lines of verse. Writing at a time when the language was in a state of change, flexible as to its grammar, and eagerly enlarging its vocabulary, he used more words than had any other poet and he made them

carry a wealth of images, a treasury of suggestion, the beauty of melody, and the very radiance of life. Even his choice of names may show the gift, as Prospero, Miranda, Caliban, and Ariel for the persons of *The Tempest;* or we may recognize it in the countless passages in which beauty of words makes memorable the ideas, as in the speech of Prospero in which we may imagine that Shakespeare too was saying farewell to his magic art.

> Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air;
> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

Moral Teaching. What does Shakespeare teach us? This question has often been answered by persons who find in his plays the lessons which they seek there. Indeed, there is so much wisdom in his poetry, and such a variety of persons, emotions, and actions that whoever seeks a particular lesson or moral is likely to find it. But Shakespeare is not a teacher who emphasizes particular lessons or beliefs. The moral value of his plays lies rather in their noble appeal to our sympathies and emotions and in their power to make real the most ideal and most spiritual qualities of mankind. They do not tell us specifically what Shakespeare's own beliefs were in regard to the many disputed questions of religion, politics, and philosophy. They do teach us the great lesson of sympathy with our fellow mortals of all kinds and classes. And, in their presentation of a thousand persons, good and bad, young and old, happy and miserable, they enforce upon our admiration kindness, affection, courage, joy, and truthfulness, those spiritual pos-

sessions which are the crown of human nature. It is out of the great ideals of the spiritual life of mankind, out of the highest conceptions of patriotism, ambition, honor, service,

The Parish Church, Stratford-on-Avon

and sacrifice, that Shakespeare built a vision more splendid than Prospero's pageants and far more enduring than our little lives.

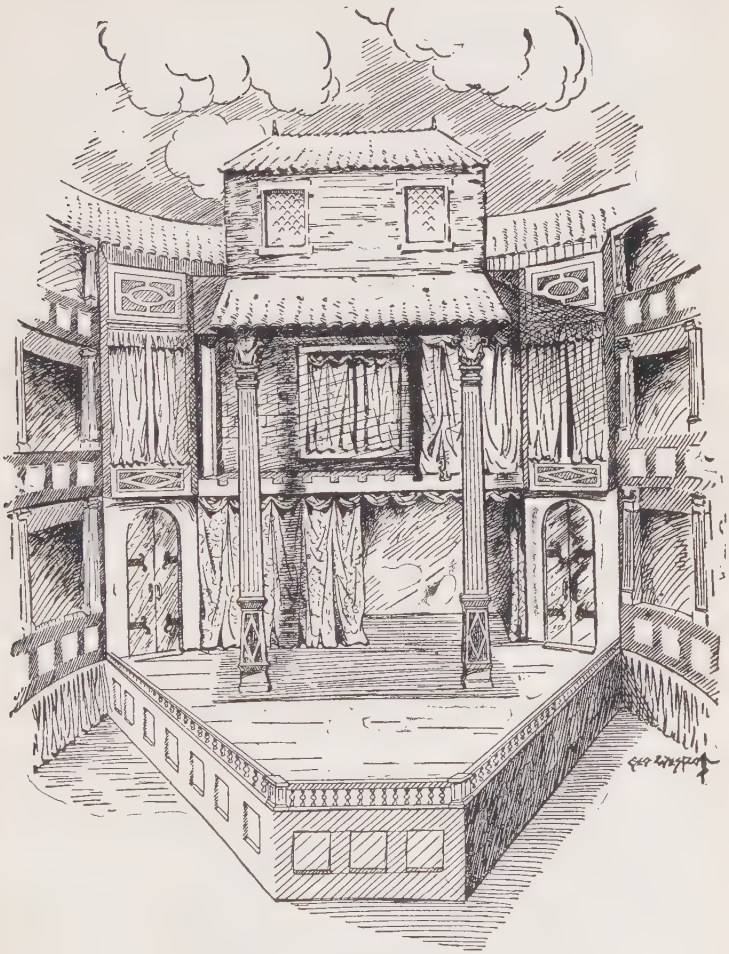
Shakespeare's Successors

The Height of the Drama. The English drama reached its highest point in the decade just following Elizabeth's death. Dekker, Heywood, Middleton, Chapman, Webster, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, as well as Shakespeare, were producing their best plays during these ten years. In London, where forty years before there had not been even a theater, there were

now scores of new plays each year, many of which were destined to have a permanent place in our literature. The reader to-day is amazed at the variety of life presented and at the bursts of poetry which illuminate motives and their conflicts. Take from the shelf the plays of any of the writers just mentioned and you will soon feel the stir of life. It may be Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* with its amusing picture of the jolly and talkative Simon Eyre, the shoemaker who befriends lovers in difficulty and rises to be Lord Mayor of London. Or it may be Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, which will take you from the busy seaport of Bristol on a cruise to Algiers in company with the beautiful and self-reliant heroine who fights the pirates and rescues her lover from the sultan's clutches. Or it may be a horrible tragedy, of which there were many, like Webster's *White Devil*, in which a woman passes from crime to crime, still imperturbable, self-possessed, and glorying in her sin. The drama was well established not only as a popular entertainment but as a varied criticism and revelation of life.

Ben Jonson. During its rapid growth, the drama had not had much time to give to criticism. There were complaints against its extravagance and eccentricity, and Ben Jonson was the leader among those who tried to bring it into closer conformity to the rules derived from the classics. He argued for the three unities, although he confessed they were difficult to manage in the English theater. He insisted on keeping tragedy and comedy sharply separated, and he thought romantic comedy and chronicle history full of absurdities. He planned a series of realistic comedies that should portray manners and follies in a well-organized fashion, as classicist criticism demanded. According to the prevailing psychology, character was determined by the four humors, hence humor came to mean characteristic quality, fad, or fashion. Types of character could be selected to illustrate particular "humors," and thus comedy could expose, ridicule, and censure life.

The first and one of the best of this "comedy of humors" was



A Typical Shakespearian Stage
(*From Albright's "Shaksperian Stage"*)

Every Man in His Humour, acted in 1598, with Shakespeare as one of the actors. *Volpone* goes beyond the ridicule of mere follies and exposes and denounces the vices of society. *The Alchemist* is the most ingenious English elaboration of the Plautian scheme of comedy. A servant is left in charge of a house during his master's absence, and with the aid of some fellow rascals he sets up as an alchemist and cheats a great procession of foolish persons. *Bartholomew Fair* gives a variegated and highly colored picture of the crowd of gulls and sharpers that gather about the puppet shows and booths of the fair. Jonson's two Roman tragedies, *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, show a careful study of Roman history and an effort to adapt the classical form to the London stage. He was also the author of many masques, produced at great expense at the court with music, dancing, and spectacle. Jonson was highly esteemed as a poet, critic, and scholar, as well as a dramatist, and came to be regarded as a leader by many of the young poets and playwrights. He should be remembered as the first of a series of literary dictators, including Dryden, Addison, and Dr. Samuel Johnson, who tried to guide English literature in the pathways of classical criticism. But like his successors, Jonson's theories rarely blinded him to merit. In spite of differences between his view of art and Shakespeare's, it was Jonson who wrote for the First Folio the great eulogy declaring

> He was not of an age, but for all time.

Beaumont and Fletcher. Beaumont and Fletcher were close friends who wrote in collaboration, so their names are rarely separated. Much younger than either Shakespeare or Jonson, they won early fame by a group of plays which mingled heroism, tragedy, and idyllic sentiments. Their land of romance was different from that of the Forest of Arden, much more artificial, and relying more on theatrical surprises and contrasts than on simple truth to life. But they were both gifted poets as well as ingenious play-makers, and they set the fashion for a mixture

of tragic and idyllic scenes which should hurry the spectator from one surprise to another, leaving the outcome in doubt until the very end. Their *Philaster* is perhaps the best example of this kind of tragicomedy, and *The Maid's Tragedy* is the most sensational and powerful of their tragedies. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* is one of the most amusing of Elizabethan comedies. The Prologue speaker is just about to announce the play, when a grocer and his wife rise in the audience and climb up on the stage, demanding that their apprentice Ralph be given a chance to act. What follows is a lively burlesque of the kind of plays that were then written to please the apprentices, and it owes its scheme to the newly written *Don Quixote.*

After Beaumont's death in the same year as Shakespeare's, Fletcher remained for nearly another decade the most popular dramatist. All together we have about sixty plays in which he had a share, and they display remarkable gifts of invention and expression. But neither his exciting tragedies and tragicomedies nor his lively and amusing comedies, like *The Wild Goose Chase,* show a really serious interest in character, morality, or art.

Decline of the Drama. The drama was ceasing to appeal to the general public. The Puritans, constantly growing in numbers, opposed the theater; and the dramatists sought patronage from people of rank and fashion. The approval of the court circles did not promote either morality or art. Horrid and unusual depravity became the common theme of tragedy; and the seamy side of city life, or the whims and follies of society, gave the material for comedy. Nevertheless the drama continued to attract writers of great talent. Philip Massinger, who collaborated with Fletcher, was the author of many plays, among them *A New Way to Pay Old Debts,* a powerful realistic study of the greed for gold, and *The Maid of Honour,* a tragicomedy, whose heroine is drawn with unusual sympathy. John Ford, a poet of great originality, wrote several tragedies

which depict with searching power the agony of tortured minds. The title of one of these, *The Broken Heart*, gives the theme of all, for along with mere stage horrors they show the human heart crushed under a weight of woe.

But all these later writers had the disadvantage of competing with the great masters of the preceding generation. Shakespeare's plays were printed in 1623 and were read by every dramatist; and the plays of Jonson and Fletcher still held the stage. A writer of refinement and charm like James Shirley could only follow in the footsteps of these masters. Lesser men sought individuality by mere theatrical sensation or an appeal to the lowest taste of the audience. Both in the subjects presented and in the language used the immorality increased. By 1642, when the Puritan Revolution began, the moralists had good reasons for closing the theaters.

Summary. Yet for seventy years those theaters had held up a mirror to life such as the drama has never been able to rival. In rapidity of development, in range of subjects, in depiction of human motives, and in splendor of poetry, the Elizabethan drama — even with Shakespeare left out — would be among the wonders of literature. But we have seen that Shakespeare is a product of this drama. He wrote for its stage and its actors, and he learned from the practices and efforts of its playwrights. Their themes are his themes, and their experiments aided his successes. His plays have indeed passed beyond his age and his surroundings, and have become the possession of every age and nearly every nation. Their ideas and their persons have entered into millions of lives. They are one of the bonds which unite all men in a common emotional and imaginative experience. They invite us, as they invited the apprentice who paid his penny at the Globe, to enter those realms of speculation and imagination where the human spirit has found life at its fullest.

Guides to Study

Reading. Among the non-Shakespearian plays most suitable for reading are: Ralph Roister Doister, Gorboduc, Endymion, Old Wives' Tale, James IV, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, Tamburlaine, Dr. Faustus, Edward II, The Spanish Tragedy, The Shoemaker's Holiday, Fair Maid of the West, Philaster, Knight of the Burning Pestle, Every Man in His Humour, The Alchemist, Maid of Honour. The first two are in Everyman's Library. The others are in Neilson's Chief Elizabethan Dramatists (one volume), and in other collections.

Of Shakespeare's plays the following, recommended for college entrance readings, are perhaps the best adapted to high schools: A Midsummer-Night's Dream, As You Like It, Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night, The Tempest, King Henry V, Macbeth, Hamlet, Julius Cæsar. Romeo and Juliet, King John, Richard II, Richard III, and Coriolanus are also on the college list.

Neilson and Thorndike's Facts About Shakespeare gives an account of Shakespeare's life and work and supplies references to many books on these subjects.

Questions. How is the drama representative of the Elizabethan period? In what way was it the school of Shakespeare? What are the chronological limits of the Elizabethan drama? How old was Shakespeare when the first London theater was built? How long was it after his death that the Puritans closed the theaters?

What two playhouses were opened in 1576? Tell the history of the companies of children actors. Where had the adult actors performed before the regular theaters were built? How were their companies licensed? Did their main support come from the court or the public? In what respects was the drama in Shakespeare's youth similar to the "movies" to-day? In what respects was it a democratic form of literature? Describe an Elizabethan playhouse, — the exterior, the interior, the stage. In what ways was the stage presentation of a play different from to-day? Were there any actresses then? Name some parts in Shakespeare's plays that were acted by young boys. What peculiarities had the "private theaters"?

What changes in the drama were taking place everywhere in western Europe? What kinds of stories were presented in the English drama? What new forms of drama came into existence? Explain the meaning of "realistic comedy," of "romantic comedy." What part did children actors have in creating romantic comedy? Tell something of the life of John Lyly. Describe one of his plays. Give an account of the life of Robert Greene. Name two of his plays. In what respects is his James IV

similar to some of Shakespeare's comedies? Explain the meaning of "chronicle history play"; of the "three unities." Explain "tragedy"; "Greek tragedy." What classical writers of tragedy did the Elizabethans imitate? Who was the chief writer of English tragedy before Shakespeare? In what ways are the heroes of his plays notable? Explain "protagonist," "tragic fate," "catastrophe." Name four of Marlowe's plays, and tell what each is about. Cite a passage of poetry in Marlowe in addition to those quoted in the text. What were Marlowe's great contributions to the development of the drama? What did Shakespeare learn from him? What was accomplished in the first period of the Elizabethan drama?

Give the main facts and dates of Shakespeare's life. To what nobleman did he dedicate his poems? Who was the chief actor in his plays? With what theatrical company was he connected? When was the first collected edition of his plays printed?

Define the four periods into which Shakespeare's plays fall. Give the characteristics and name a few plays for each period. What plays by Shakespeare have you read? what comedies? what histories? what tragedies? In what respects does As You Like It resemble other of his comedies? Who is the chief person of the play? Compare her with another of Shakespeare's heroines. In what plays does Henry V appear? What events in English history are presented in the play Henry V? What difficulties did Shakespeare feel in presenting such actions on the Elizabethan stage? Why does he call the theater "a wooden O"? Quote from the play a famous speech by the hero. Who are some of the chief persons in Julius Cæsar? What is the story of the play? What conflicts of motives does it present? Illustrate ways by which these conflicts are made interesting to the eye of a spectator in the theater. How are they made interesting to the reader? Which is the most famous of Shakespeare's tragedies? What connection had it with the Spanish Tragedy? with other earlier plays? Tell the plot of Hamlet. What are some of the subjects of his soliloquies? Describe the character of Laertes, of Claudius, of Hamlet. Why has the play interested so profoundly so many people?

How was Shakespeare indebted to other writers? How is his originality shown? What do we mean by an author's "invention"? Cite some examples of Shakespeare's powers of invention. Name the persons in his plays that in your opinion illustrate his powers of characterization. Cite four passages which illustrate in different ways his poetical expression. What moral lesson have you learned from Shakespeare?

In what decade was the Elizabethan drama at its height? Name some of the dramatists who were then writing. Describe some play of this period which you have read. How did Ben Jonson strive to improve the

drama? Explain "comedy of humors." Name four of his plays. For what is Jonson remembered besides his plays? Describe briefly several of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. When did the drama begin to decline? Why did the Puritans oppose it? Why is the history of the Elizabethan drama interesting? What qualities do its plays have for readers to-day?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. Queen Elizabeth. Shakespeare's Boyhood at Stratford. A Visit to an Elizabethan Playhouse. A Comedy by John Lyly. Shakespeare's World of Romance. Henry V. My Favorite among Shakespeare's Heroines. Macbeth's Conscience. The Moral Conflict of Brutus. A School Performance of One of Shakespeare's Plays. Shakespeare Visits a Modern Theater.

CHAPTER VIII

CAVALIER AND PURITAN, 1616–1660

INTRODUCTION. From Tudor to Stuart. Cavalier and Puritan. The Causes of the Civil War.

BETWEEN THE PARTIES. Sir Thomas Browne. Other Prose Writers.

FRANCIS BACON. Life. Interests and Character. *Magna Instauratio. The New Atlantis. Essays.*

THE CAVALIER LYRIC. Lyric poetry. Suckling and Lovelace. Robert Herrick. George Herbert. John Donne. The Metaphysical Poets.

JOHN MILTON. Life. Personality. First Period. *Lycidas. Comus.* Second Period. Divorce Pamphlets. *Areopagitica.* Ecclesiastical Pamphlets. Political Pamphlets. Sonnets. Third Period. *Paradise Lost. Paradise Regained. Samson Agonistes.*

SUMMARY.

We pass now from " the spacious days " of Queen Elizabeth to a time when men's minds were likely to be narrowed by bitter religious and political controversies. There was no longer a united England, but a nation torn by party and rent by revolution. We shall find literature still inspired by the dreams of beauty and of achievement which had found expression in Spenser and Shakespeare, but it now also represents the strife of parties and the conflict of ideas. We shall need to consider the changes in rulers and the struggles of politics in order to understand why we find in literature both the strictest morality and loose immorality, both laudation of kings and vehement declarations of liberty. But, although the violence of controversy led men to extremes on either side, we should remember that the century after Elizabeth was a time of great men who were working through strife and compromise toward the moral and political ideals that have since guided the nation.

From Tudor to Stuart. Elizabeth was the last of the Tudors, a dynasty which had ruled England since 1485. Upon her death the crown passed to her distant kinsman, James Stuart, King of Scotland. Under the Stuarts, who held the throne for a little over a century, occurred the great struggle between crown and parliament which finally resulted in the establishment of a constitutional and limited monarchy. The chief events in this struggle are (1) the Puritan Revolution of 1642, which drove the Stuarts from the throne and set up a republican government under Cromwell; (2) the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, and (3) the Revolution of 1688 which expelled James II and brought William and Mary to the throne. This Revolution placed the supreme power in the hands of Parliament, adopted the principle of toleration in England, and made the British the freest people in Europe.

Cavalier and Puritan. The period with which we are now dealing saw the first and bitterest phase of the struggle by which this freedom was won. Cavalier and Puritan are names roughly descriptive of the two main forces in this struggle, and they stand not only for political and religious parties, but also for permanently contrasting sides of human nature. The Cavalier type is aristocratic, with a strong feeling of loyalty to class and king, delighting in beauty, and believing in the enjoyment of this life. The Puritan type puts stress on the freedom and responsibility of the individual both in religion and in politics, is greatly concerned with strict rules of conduct, and tends to regard this world in the light of a preparation for the next. Both have contributed important elements to the life of Britain, and to the expression of that life in literature. Both types were carried by colonists to America and have persisted in our history, the Cavalier in Virginia, the Puritan in Massachusetts. The two tendencies were present in English life long before the coming of the Stuarts. In spite of the vigorous attempts of Elizabeth to unify the nation and the church, there persisted two main parties, one wishing to retain

many of the forms of government and worship of the old religion, the other seeking to "reform it altogether." At the date of her death, the chief demands of the Puritans in the church were for the restriction of the power of the bishops and the simplification of the church service. Later, differences in doctrine were added to the points at issue; and as the chasm between Cavalier and Puritan widened during the reigns of James I and Charles I, bitterness increased, and the Puritan party tended to come more and more under the control of its sterner and narrower section, which often deserved the ridicule of the dramatists. But the Puritans were not confined to a narrow sect; they became a great party seeking moral and political reform, and including in their ranks some of the foremost names in English politics and literature, Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell, Bunyan and Milton. Puritanism meant many different things to different men at different times; but for both Old and New England, it has meant chiefly devotion to two ideals, personal morality and political freedom.

The Causes of the Civil War. Originally, the constitutional question as to whether the final authority rested with the king or the people was quite separate from the religious one. It came to a crisis through the Parliament's exercising its power over taxation to refuse the king money to carry on the government until he had consented to certain reforms. Charles I dismissed the Parliament, levied taxes illegally by royal proclamation, and stirred up violent opposition among men who saw in this the loss of their due share in government. At the same time he supported the bishops who were seeking tyrannically to suppress puritanism in the church, driving many to Holland and thence to America. The Puritans and constitutionalists, joining hands, formed the Parliamentary party, which under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell overthrew the Royalists in the Civil War, finally put Charles to death, and set up a republican commonwealth in place of the monarchy (1649–1660).

Between the Parties

Although, by the middle of the seventeenth century, nearly every one had been forced to take sides in these quarrels, there were many men, especially in the earlier stages, who stood between or apart from the two parties, or whose main interests cannot be described in the terms of either the religious or the political controversy. Thus while a number of the writers of the time can be classed fairly as Puritan or Cavalier, to others these names can be applied either not at all or with serious modifications in the individual case.

Sir Thomas Browne. The literary production of the time was indeed very varied. The drama continued to be the most conspicuous form until the Long Parliament closed the theaters in 1642, but this did not stop the printing of plays. Lyric poetry, both secular and sacred, flourished. The rapid development of the art of music led to the writing of many songs. The influence of Spenser was shown in a large body of imitation. The essay made its appearance, and large numbers of so-called " characters " were written, short sketches like the " character " of a Milkmaid or of a Hypocrite, summing up the characteristics of typical figures of the time. Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, the Religion of a Doctor, gives us the seventeenth century aspect of the meeting of the religious and the scientific spirits, expressed in a style somewhat laden with strange words from the Latin, but full of wonderful cadences. Equally splendid in style is his *Hydriotaphia: Urn-Burial*, with its stately moralizings on the vanities of human life, and its pomp of classical quotation and allusion.

> Now, since these dead bones have already outlasted the living ones of Methuselah, and, in a yard under ground, and their walls of clay, outworn all the strong and specious buildings above it, and quietly rested under the drums and tramplings of three conquests; what prince can promise such diuturnity unto his relics, or might not gladly say,
>
> Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim? [1]
>
> [1] Would that I were turned into bones!

Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments. In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation, and obscurity their protection. . . . Generations pass while some trees stand, and old families last not three oaks. . . . But the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. . . . But man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing nativities and deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting ceremonies of bravery in the infamy of his nature.

Other Prose Writers. These fragments must serve to represent the whole imposing group of writers of noble prose of this period, from Hooker, the historian of the church, through preachers like Jeremy Taylor and Dr. Donne, a great poet as well, to Izaak Walton, with his *Compleat Angler* and his delightful miniature biographies of distinguished contemporaries.

Francis Bacon (1561–1626)

Among the comparatively detached figures, the most distinguished was the great statesman, lawyer, philosopher, scientist, and man of letters, Francis Bacon. Bacon's position in the state led him to take an intellectual interest in the quarrels of the time; he wrote pamphlets meant to make peace between the bishops and the Puritans, and he advised the sovereign as to means for protecting what he thought was the royal right. Yet his heart was not in these things, but in the advancement of mankind through the knowledge and mastery of nature.

Life. Francis Bacon was the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Privy Seal under Elizabeth, and his wife, Anne Coke, one of the learned ladies of the Renaissance. Her sister was the wife of Lord Burleigh, the great minister of Elizabeth. With these connections, Bacon might naturally have looked forward to an easy access to place and wealth. He went to Cambridge at the age of twelve, and after graduating at sixteen he took up law. At seventeen he was in France in

the train of the English ambassador, when his father suddenly died, leaving him without adequate means. Lord Burleigh, to whom the young man looked for patronage, disappointed him; and, setting himself to work out his own career, Bacon completed his legal education, was called to the bar, and at the age of twenty-six was elected to Parliament. He did his best to draw the favorable attention of the Queen, but without much success; and though he was supported in his ambitions by the powerful Earl of Essex, he made little progress during Elizabeth's reign. When James I came to England, Bacon proffered his services and his advice, and received a knighthood. After a few years he obtained an important office of state, and between 1612 and 1621 he rose through a succession of stages until he became Lord High Chancellor, the head of the legal system of England, and was made a peer, with the titles of Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans. He was an admirable judge, but in the course of his rising he had

FRANCIS BACON

(*From his "Posthumous Works," 1657*)

made enemies who finally combined to bring against him charges of bribery and the betrayal of justice. Bacon's guilt lay less in financial corruption than in too great readiness to allow court influence to affect his legal decisions, but he was convicted, deprived of his office, fined, and banished from London. Five years later, in 1626, he died.

Interests and Character. Though the external facts of Bacon's career are apt to give the impression of a man ambitious for place and power, he always protested that his real interests were scientific. He believed that knowledge could only be advanced by enlisting the coöperation of a large number of workers, and organizing their efforts in well-equipped laboratories; and he explained his desire to obtain office by his need to get possession of the means and influence to bring such coöperation about. This explanation is probably largely true, though at times he seems to have let his eagerness to gather the means cause him to lose sight of the end, and to have descended to methods which by the standards of our time appear highly discreditable. He was a man of somewhat cold personal feeling, whose enthusiasms were for truth and the welfare of mankind at large — a combination which resulted in a lack of loyalty to friends who were no longer useful. Yet he was a great intellect, and at bottom not selfish or mean. Pope's famous characterization, "The greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind" is unjust as well as contradictory, and Macaulay's famous essay on Bacon is only an elaboration of Pope's line.

Magna Instauratio. Bacon planned a vast work to be called *Magna Instauratio*, the Great Renewal, which was to revolutionize science and philosophy, but which inevitably he failed to complete. It began with a survey of the accomplishments of science up to his time and an examination of the reasons why it had not achieved more. The English version of this part forms his *Advancement of Learning*. Then followed his *Novum Organum*, or "New Instrument," a statement (in Latin) of what is called Inductive Logic, the true method of

scientific reasoning, from observation and experiment. Next, he planned a comprehensive collection of the facts of nature, to which the " new instrument " was to be applied, but this collection is a mere fragment. He never even began the work in philosophy which was to be the crown of all this scientific investigation.

Such a scheme seems to us to-day almost childish in assuming that a single mind could attempt so much with any hope of success. Science since Bacon's time has been working on what is essentially his program, and after three centuries has only made a beginning. Yet there is something awe-inspiring in the very vastness of his intellectual ambition, so characteristic of the Elizabethan magnificence of conception that obtained various expression in the tragedies of Marlowe and Shakespeare, the allegories of Spenser, and the schemes of Raleigh. Moreover, the laying down of the program was in itself a great service to knowledge. First, collect and study the facts of this great world; then, base your reasoning on those facts — these are the essentials which Bacon taught and which modern thought has followed.

The New Atlantis. A more imaginative statement of his dreams for the advancement of knowledge and the improvement of human conditions which he believed would result is to be found in his unfinished *New Atlantis*. This book belongs to the class of More's *Utopia*, but the most interesting part of it is not that which deals with the social and political arrangements in his imaginary island, but in the description of " Solomon's House," a kind of research university, where recent inventions like the flying machine are represented as being already accomplished.

Essays. Bacon's chief expression of his ideas on the other side of life, politics and conduct, is to be found in his *Essays*, the only part of his work which is now popularly read. Ten of these he published in 1597, and they were reissued and extended in 1612 and again in 1625. They deal with a great

variety of subjects, some quite general like those "Of Truth," and "Of Death"; some on questions of individual behavior like those "Of Revenge" and "Of Friendship"; many on problems of statesmanship like that "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates." For the most part they are not so much advice or exhortation to act or to believe in this or that way, as they are condensed statements of his observation as to how things actually go in the world. Thus, there could be constructed out of them a handbook for the rising politician which would be rich in the worldly wisdom of how to get on. As politics was a fairly dirty business in the time of Elizabeth and James. these maxims are often more shrewd than lofty. Yet on many of the themes his utterances are profound and penetrating, and they are expressed with a conciseness and clarity quite new in English prose. They yield to the careful reader the most illuminating commentary on the mind and character of a man who possessed one of the great intellects of the world.

The best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, *that a friend is another himself;* for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him. So that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are, as it were, granted to him and his deputy. For he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own.

Of Friendship.

The Cavalier Lyric

Lyric Poetry. The most characteristic expression of the Cavalier spirit is to be found in the short lyrics. A lyric is a poem whose chief purpose is to give utterance to a feeling or mood, as distinct from a poem which tells a story, or represents action in dialogue, or conveys ideas or criticism. The name implies singing to a lyre, and though many kinds of lyrics, such as the sonnet, have departed far from this original type, the song is still the most popular variety, and in the Elizabethan times lyrics were composed in great numbers to be sung to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. Many of the Cavalier lyrics were written by men who were far from being professional authors, by courtiers and soldiers like Lovelace, Suckling, and the Marquis of Montrose, clergymen like Herrick and Herbert. Some of these bear the marks of the amateur in careless workmanship; all at times have touches of exquisite expression unsurpassed by the writers of any school.

Suckling and Lovelace. The typical lives of the group are those of Lovelace and Suckling.

Sir John Suckling was the son of a court official under James I, and on the death of his father was left heir to a large fortune shortly after leaving Cambridge. Abandoning the study of the law, he plunged into the gayeties of court life, traveled on the Continent, saw service as a soldier of fortune in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, and returned to enjoy the prestige which he gained by his wealth, his wit, and his literary accomplishments. In 1639 he raised and equipped at his own expense a troop of a hundred horse for Charles I's campaign against the Scots, and the next year he was elected a member of the Long Parliament. His share in a plot to get control of the army for the king having been discovered, he fled to France. The rest of his life is obscure. A strange story was circulated of his having suffered terrible torture under the Inquisition in Spain, and more reliable evidence exists that he died in France by his own hand in 1642.

Richard Lovelace was, like Suckling, of noble family. At Oxford he was renowned for his personal beauty, "being then accounted the most amiable and beautiful person that ever eye beheld . . . much admired and adored by the female sex." After a splendid but short sojourn at court, he also took service in the Scottish campaign, and in 1642 was imprisoned by the Long Parliament for presenting a petition on behalf of the king. While there he wrote the lines to Althea, quoted below. He exhausted his means in the service of his sovereign, fell into melancholy, and died in rags in a London slum. Wild and reckless in pleasure, dashing and brilliant in society, unstinting in their loyalty and devotion to the cause they supported, these men embody much that is most characteristic in the Cavalier spirit.

Lovelace is remembered chiefly for two poems, *To Lucasta, going to the Wars* and *To Althea, from Prison*, which reach a perfection he does not elsewhere approach. The former closes

> I could not love thee, dear, so much,
> Loved I not honor more,

and the second contains this stanza,

> Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage;
> Minds innocent and quiet take
> That for a hermitage;
> If I have freedom in my love
> And in my soul am free,
> Angels alone, that soar above,
> Enjoy such liberty.

— lines expressing a great general idea in so perfect a form that they alone are enough to give their author immortality. Similar in spirit are Montrose, Suckling, and Thomas Carew; all of them have the Cavalier enjoyment of the good things of life, a captivating gayety and gallantry in taking things as they come, and not infrequently a curious melancholy and

even mystical consciousness of the transitoriness of human glory and joy. Many of the best songs occur in plays and masques, and a typical example is this by James Shirley.

The glories of our blood and state
  Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armor against fate;
  Death lays his icy hand on kings:
    Scepter and crown
    Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

Some men with swords may reap the field,
  And plant fresh laurels where they kill;
But their strong nerves at last must yield;
  They tame but one another still:
    Early or late
    They stoop to fate,
And must give up their murmuring breath
When they, pale captives, creep to death.

The garlands wither on your brow;
  Then boast no more your mighty deeds;
Upon Death's purple altar now
  See where the victor-victim bleeds:
    Your heads must come
    To the cold tomb;
Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust.

Robert Herrick. Like qualities are found also in the much ampler body of lyric produced by Robert Herrick. Herrick was born in 1591 and lived until 1674 — thus linking the Elizabethans to the Restoration writers. He is the most conspicuous member of the group known as the " tribe of Ben," from their discipleship to the dramatist Ben Jonson. Jonson himself wrote many beautifully finished lyrics, and during the latter part of his life was a dominating figure in the literary life of London. After a youth spent among the wits and poets who

frequented the Mermaid Tavern, Herrick became a country parson in Devonshire, was ousted during the supremacy of the Puritans, and returned thither after the restoration of Charles II. His clerical side is represented by his *Noble Numbers*, a collection of religious poems not without genuine feeling and with a freshness and unconventionality rare in sacred verse. His more memorable work is found in his *Hesperides*, poems in praise of love, of wine, of country life, and in regret for the short-livedness of beauty and joy.

Fair Daffodils, we weep to see
You haste away so soon:
As yet the early-rising sun
Has not attained his noon.
Stay, stay,
Until the hasting day
Has run
But to the evensong;
And having prayed together, we
Will go with you along.

We have short time to stay as you;
We have as short a spring;
As quick a growth to meet decay
As you, or anything.
We die,
As your hours do, and dry
Away,
Like to the summer's rain;
Or as the pearls of morning's dew,
Ne'er to be found again.

Nowhere are such themes treated more delightfully. In a style simple and clear as spring water, in verse that flows and ripples with the freedom of a brook but which yet is managed with great though concealed art, with a quaint and lively fancy and a feeling tender and warm, Herrick produced scores of lyrics unsurpassed in their kind. Contemporary with Milton, Herrick in his country verses challenges comparison with the author of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

George Herbert. A clerical poet of a very different type was George Herbert. Belonging to the family of the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, to whom was dedicated the first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays, Herbert seemed at first destined for a brilliant career. But after holding for a time the office of public orator at the University of Cambridge, he retired to a quiet country parish and devoted himself with great intensity to the religious welfare of his flock. No man represents more adequately the meaning of the phrase "the beauty of holiness," which was so much in the mouth of Archbishop Laud, the great antagonist of the Puritans, and the leader of the High Church party, that section of the Church of England which departed least from the forms and practices of Roman Catholicism. Herbert built an exquisite little church, and by the order and beauty of the service as well as by his teaching and preaching tried to touch the finer feelings of his parishioners. His *Temple* is a volume of sacred poems finely expressive of his spirit. They are wrought elaborately, and full of the careful workmanship of a man who honored God by making even his prayers works of art. The most quoted of his verses will serve to illustrate the curious finish of his phrase as well as his devout and gentle melancholy.

Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
  The bridal of the earth and sky,
The dew shall weep thy fall to-night;
  For thou must die.

Sweet rose, whose hue, angry and brave,
  Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye,
Thy root is ever in its grave,
  And thou must die.

Sweet spring, full of sweet days and roses,
  A box where sweets compacted lie,
My music shows ye have your closes,
  And all must die.

Only a sweet and virtuous soul,
Like seasoned timber, never gives;
But though the whole world turn to coal,
Then chiefly lives.

John Donne. The man whose influence rivals that of Jonson among the lyrical poets of the period is John Donne. Donne's youth was one of adventure and hardship. A university man, educated for the law, he estranged his family by abandoning the Catholic religion, in which he had been brought up, and was imprisoned for making a runaway marriage with a young lady of noble family. He traveled on the Continent and seems at one time to have been a soldier. He was middle-aged before he hit upon any settled career. Then, taking orders, he became a famous preacher, and died Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1626.

Like Herrick, Donne wrote both secular and sacred verse, the secular being usually assigned to his earlier and wilder years. It contains a number of rough satires on classical models, and a collection of lyrical poems among the most extraordinary in the language. The difficulty of ranking or classifying him may be gathered from three sayings of Ben Jonson about him: that he "was the first poet in the world in some things"; that "for not keeping of accent he deserved hanging," and that he was likely to perish "for not being understood." It is true, on one hand, that he is hard to read and often to scan, and on the other hand that he at times flashes upon us a line or phrase that dazzles while it lights up something that had hitherto seemed commonplace, at times astounds us with his intellectual depth, at times thrills us with the intensity of his passion and the freshness with which he renders the impressions of his senses. But his unevenness and obscurity keep him what he has always been, the poet of the few.

The Metaphysical Poets. Doctor Samuel Johnson is responsible for the application of the word "metaphysical" to the characteristics of Donne and other poets of the time, such

as Cowley and Crashaw. The chief features of this so-called school was the excessive use of figures of speech called "conceits." The Elizabethans had been extraordinarily full of life, and this fullness was often expressed in rhetorical flourishes that seem exaggerated to us. These exaggerations continued to appear in the next generation, after the abounding vitality that originated them no longer existed, and were then due to intellectual ingenuity rather than to natural impulse. The conceit is illustrated by such a passage as that of Dryden describing the symptoms of the smallpox, of which the subject of the poem had died:

> Each little pimple had a tear in it,
> To wail the fault its rising did commit.

Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that men like Donne were coldly intellectual. However they may at times offend modern taste, there is no question that they were capable of intense and genuine feeling.

John Milton (1608–1674)

The two names that are most prominently associated with the literature of Puritanism are those of Milton and Bunyan. In temperament, aim, and method they were very different, and their differences are important in reminding us of the great range of meaning included in the various uses of the word Puritan.

Life of Milton. John Milton was born in London in 1608. His father was a well-to-do scrivener or law stationer who devoted his leisure to music and had intimate relations with some of the chief professional musicians of his day. He sent his son to St. Paul's School and then to Cambridge, with the intention of making him a clergyman of the English church. From boyhood Milton was a hard student, and seems to have injured his eyes by overstudy while still at school. At the university he was noted for his personal beauty and the strict-

ness of his life — qualities which earned him the nickname of "the lady of Christ's." His career was checked by the developments that were taking place in religious affairs. Archbishop Laud, anxious to suppress the growth of Puritan ideas and practices, was placing severe restrictions on the clergy, dictating when and what they should preach; and the proud and independent spirit of the young Milton recoiled from the idea of entering a church in such bondage. So he abandoned his intention of taking orders, and, retiring to his father's country house at Horton in Buckinghamshire, he devoted himself to private study and the writing of poetry. Though uncertain as to the precise form his work should take, he seems to have had a strong assurance that he was born to achieve something great, and he proceeded, with a rare faith in his destiny, to the furnishing and training of his mind that he might be ready for the supreme task when the time came. Poetry was for him a fine and noble art, and no man ever prepared himself more studiously and thoroughly for the high calling of a poet.

At twenty-nine he was still in this mood, and, following the usual fashion in the education of young gentlemen of the day, he set out for a tour on the Continent. He had already attracted some attention by his early poems, and he was supplied with letters which gave him access to literary circles in Italy. He was received with distinction in various cities, and he acquired such a mastery of the Italian language as enabled him to write some creditable poems in it. He was planning to go on to Greece when news came that England was threatened with civil war. Thinking it unworthy to be traveling for his private culture and enjoyment when his countrymen were fighting for liberty at home, he retraced his steps, and arrived in London in the summer of 1639. But he did not enter the army. The illegality of Charles I's taxation moved him less than the restrictions on freedom of thought and speech, and it was into the struggle for religious and intellectual liberty that

MILTON

he threw himself, using the pen, not the sword. He established himself in London, and undertook the education of his nephews and some other children. In 1643 he married Mary Powell, the daughter of a Royalist family, but after a few weeks she left him and returned to her family. Later she came back and sought forgiveness, and Milton received her again into his house. She died in 1653, leaving him three daughters. He took as second wife Catherine Woodcock, who lived only about a year after her marriage, and whom he celebrated in a beautiful sonnet; and in 1664 he married Elizabeth Minshull, who survived him.

Meantime the Civil War came to an end with the victory of the Parliament and the execution of the king and his chief advisers, Laud and Strafford; and when the Commonwealth was established Milton became Latin Secretary — that is, he was the official who put the state correspondence into Latin, the language of diplomacy at that time. He also wrote a number of pamphlets defending the policy of the new government, and in his eagerness to perform this service neglected the warnings of his physician and lost his eyesight.

With the fall of the Commonwealth and the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, he went into retirement, probably owing his escape from active persecution to his blindness. Living quietly and in poverty on the outskirts of London, he dictated to his daughters his great epics and *Samson Agonistes*, and in 1674 he died. Thus a great part of his poetry, like all the published work of Bunyan, falls in the period after the fall of the Puritan government.

Personality. Milton was admirable rather than attractive. He had great virtues; his life was pure, honest, upright, and independent; he was profoundly devoted to the cause in which he believed and capable of sacrifice for it, scornful of any compromise with principles, and intolerant of any infringement of liberty, as he understood it. At the same time there have been more amiable husbands and fathers. He was

very sure of himself, was convinced that women were meant to be subordinate to men, and, in spite of his love of beauty he was capable of sharing the coarse temper of the controversy of his day. What humor he had tended to bitter irony. He lived in a time when the trials to which public-spirited men were subjected developed the heroic rather than the social virtues. Heroic, however, he was; and the loftiness of his

Trinity College, Cambridge, in the Time of Milton

conception of his calling, and the faithfulness with which he clung to it, make him one of the grandest figures in literature.

First Period. Lycidas. His works fall naturally into three groups, corresponding to the three chief divisions of his life. The first group were produced before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, and if Milton had died then it is doubtful if any one would ever have called him a Puritan poet. For though there is nothing in this early period inconsistent with the strict purity of his life, the minor poems are clearly the work of a man in love with beauty and broad culture, and have no trace of fanaticism or narrowness. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, companion studies respectively of the cheerful social mood and the meditative solitary mood, were probably written during

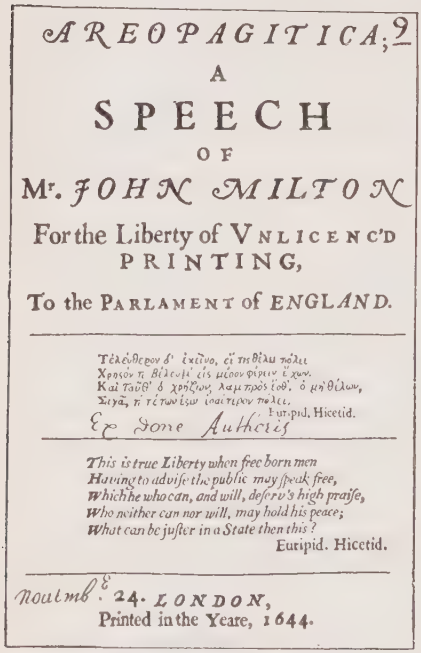
his years at Horton. They are full of pleasant description of landscape and country life, are remarkable for the number of happy concise phrases they have contributed to common use, and show, as all his verse does, the possession of a perfect ear. *Lycidas*, one of the most famous of English elegies, was contributed to a volume of memorial poems in honor of Edward King, a college acquaintance who had been drowned crossing the Irish Sea. In form the poem follows the convention of the Greek pastoral elegy, the poet and his friend appearing in the guise of shepherds. Indeed, so largely is the poem imitative of classical models that many have doubted whether it expresses any deep personal grief, but is not rather a literary exercise, so far as the lament for King is concerned. It contains, however, two digressions from the main theme: one on fame, which shows the direction of the young poet's ambition and the checking of this ambition by his religious convictions; the other on the corrupt and worldly clergy of the English church, from joining whose ranks his upright and independent spirit had recoiled. In these two passages the feeling of the poem rises to a pitch of intensity which makes the lament for his friend seem pale in contrast.

Last came, and last did go,
The pilot of the Galilean lake;
Two massy keys he bore of metals twain
(The golden opes, the iron shuts amain).
He shook his mitred locks, and stern bespake:
"How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
Enow of such as for their bellies' sake
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold!
Of other care they little reckoning make
Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast
And shove away the worthy bidden guest;
Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
A sheep-hook, or have learnt aught else the least
That to the faithful herdman's art belongs!
What recks it them? What need they? They are sped.
And when they list, their lean and flashy songs

Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;
The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
But swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread;
Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said.
But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more."

Comus. In 1637 the court musician, Henry Lawes, a friend of the Milton family, was employed to prepare an entertainment to celebrate the inauguration of the Earl of Bridgewater as Lord Deputy of Wales. He naturally chose the form of the masque, the favorite amusement of the time in aristocratic and courtly circles, and he applied to his young friend, who had given notable proof of poetic powers, to provide the verses. The result was *Comus*, the most famous of English masques. It was characteristic of the young Milton that though he was willing to lend himself to the production of an entertainment associated with the Cavalier spirit, he chose as his theme the triumph of virtue, and filled the speeches of the lady and her brothers with sentiments on the unconquerable nature of purity that expressed the finer spirit of the earlier Puritanism. This is his first poem in blank verse, and though his use of this meter does not yet sound the organ tone of *Paradise Lost*, he writes here as always with exquisite music. In reading *Comus*, the plot of which is too well known to need telling, we must remember that it is a masque and not a drama, that both plot and characterization are subordinate to the affording of opportunities for the display of the accomplishments of the noble actors in elocution, singing, and dancing. For the parts of the lady and her brothers were taken by members of the Bridgewater family, that of the attendant spirit by Lawes, and only Comus with his rout and Sabrina, by professionals. No other English masque rises to such a lofty height in the moralizing and in none are the lines so full of noble poetry.

Second Period. Divorce Pamphlets. With Milton's return from Italy and the outbreak of the Civil War, we enter upon the second period of his production. His main attention for the next twenty years centered on the struggle for liberty, and he has himself suggested the classification of the prose works on which he was then engaged according to different phases of liberty — in the home, the press, the church, and the state. His own troubles with his first wife led to his consideration of the question of domestic freedom, and he issued in 1643 and 1644 *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, and three other pamphlets arguing on Biblical and other grounds for freedom of divorce on account of lack of mutual sympathy. His opinions created no small scandal, and even in our day would be regarded as advanced.



AREOPAGITICA; 9

A

SPEECH

OF

Mr. JOHN MILTON

For the Liberty of VNLICENC'D PRINTING,

To the PARLAMENT of ENGLAND.

Τέλεύθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο, εἴ τις θέλει πόλει
Χρηστόν τι βέλεσθαι εἰς μέρον φέρειν ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ χρήζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾷ, τί τέτων ἐστὶν ἐσαίτερον πόλει.
Eurip. Hicetid.

Ex Dono Authoris

This is true Liberty when free born men
Having to advise the public may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserv's high praise,
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State then this?
Euripid. Hicetid.

Nouemb. 24. LONDON,
Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

TITLE-PAGE OF MILTON'S "AREOPAGITICA"

Areopagitica. His courage appeared equally in the publication of his *Areopagitica*, a pamphlet in favor of unlicensed printing. In 1643 the Long Parliament had reëstablished the system of requiring all books to be licensed before publication, a practice which Milton had hoped would disappear with the overthrow of the Royalists. So he issued in the form of a speech addressed to the Houses of Parliament the most weighty and eloquent of appeals for the freedom of the press.

Ecclesiastical Pamphlets. The question of religious liberty he dealt with in a group of pamphlets against the episcopal form of church government, believing that the authority possessed by bishops led to the suppression of the individual clergyman's freedom of preaching. On this he naturally felt strongly, since it was this tyranny that had forced him to abandon his first chosen profession.

Political Pamphlets. Finally, he took up political liberty, arguing in his own tongue with the English people on the *True Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* and in Latin with the peoples of Europe, in defense of the execution of the king and the setting up of a republic. In these last pamphlets Milton's controversial tone is most bitter; he sometimes loses his temper and allows himself to descend to personalities and vulgarities which, however usual in the debates of his time, cannot fail to distress and offend the taste of to-day. But throughout all his prose we find in abundance passages of a lofty eloquence, grim irony, and fierce invective, and a persistent passion for freedom.

Sonnets. During these years when he was preoccupied with politics, he wrote only a little poetry — some score of sonnets. Some of these echo the war and his controversial prose; two deal nobly with his loss of sight; others are pleasant addresses to his friends, and show that even amidst the stress of the time he had not abandoned his love of the beautiful and the occupations of a cultured leisure. His influence on the history of the English sonnet is great, because not only did he return to the original Italian form in the arrangement of the rimes, but he broke away from the convention that had largely confined the sonnet to love themes, and made it deal with a wide range of public and private interests.

When I consider how my light is spent,
Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
And that one talent which is death to hide
Lodg'd with me useless, though my soul more bent

To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest he returning chide;
'Doth God exact day labor, light deni'd?'
I fondly ask: but Patience, to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, 'God doth not need
Either man's work, or his own gifts; who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best: his state
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait.'

Third Period. The third group contains those writings which appeared after the Restoration of Charles II. The Puritans, during the period of their ascendancy, had carried things with a high hand: the narrower and more austere section had gained an influence that enabled them to suppress much that was harmless, and to interfere in many affairs that are better left to the individual conscience, so that in some respects the party of liberty had killed liberty itself. This produced a reaction, and along with various purely political influences led to the bringing back of the house of Stuart. The Royalists took a bitter revenge for what they had suffered; Milton himself was for a time imprisoned, and later was glad to find safety in silence and obscurity. It was in these circumstances, when all that he had fought for for twenty years seemed lost, that he took up and brought to a conclusion his greatest work. For years he had meditated on what should be its form and content, and had finally decided that it should be an epic, and its subject the everlasting conflict between good and evil as embodied in the story of the fall of man.

Paradise Lost. His chief model was the *Æneid* of Virgil. Like him and like Homer, Milton began with a statement of his theme:

Of man's first disobedience and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree;

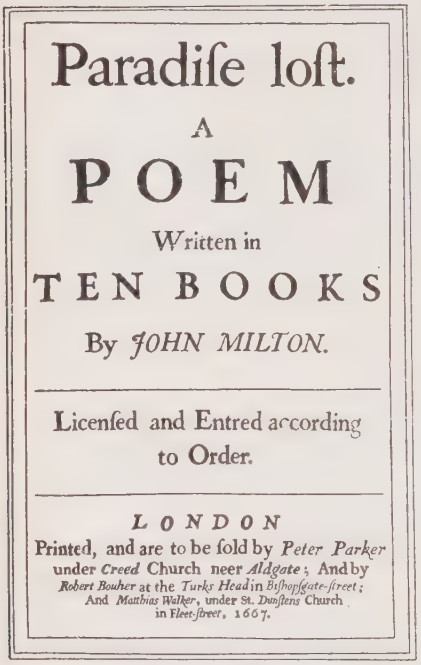
but instead of the pagan Muse he invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit. Then, again as in the classical fashion, he plunged

into the middle of the story, describing the fallen angels in hell and their plotting against new-created man. It is only later, in the conversations between Adam and the Archangel, that we are told of the revolt of Lucifer and the war in heaven that had preceded the opening situation. After this return, the story goes on to the temptation and the fall, and ends mournfully with the expulsion of our first parents from Eden. The narrative is interspersed, sometimes excessively delayed, with long conversations on theological subjects, which modern taste often finds tedious. But the poem abounds in brilliant description, sometimes awful, sometimes delightful; and the characterization, especially of the fallen angels, is distinct and impressive. Seldom in any literature has there been displayed an imagination capable of dealing vividly with such vast conceptions. Take for example the description of Satan's first view of Chaos:

> Before their eyes in sudden view appear
> The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
> Illimitable ocean without bound,
> Without dimension, where length, breadth, and highth,
> And time and place are lost; where eldest Night
> And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
> Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
> Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.

Rich in detail, full of gorgeous images, the poem is still splendidly ordered. The luxuriance of romantic poetry is combined with the sense of structure and arrangement of the classics, as the method of *Iliad* and *Æneid* is employed upon the material of the Hebrew Bible. And the whole is conveyed in a majestic diction and set to the most elevated music that English verse has ever contained. English blank verse had reached great heights in the drama, but outside of it no one had ever reached Milton's variety in the treatment of the single line, the superb climaxes of his paragraphs, and the sustained grandeur of his tone.

Puritan elements there undoubtedly are in its theology, but the poem itself in the sublimity of its art rises far above anything sectarian. It expresses the two dominating interests of Milton's life, the struggle between good and evil, and the love of beauty. Of all his predecessors it was Spenser, "the sage and serious Spenser" as he called him, whom he most admired, and in these two main passions the men were alike. The elements which oftenest tended to appear separate or in opposition, the zeal of the Reformation for the purification of the world, the zest of the Renaissance for its variety and beauty, combine in the two greatest masters of non-dramatic poetry in England, and give to that poetry its characteristic quality in the combination of moral teaching with delight. In the *Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost*, this quality received the highest embodiment.


Paradiſe loſt.
A
POEM
Written in
TEN BOOKS
By JOHN MILTON.
Licenſed and Entred according to Order.
LONDON
Printed, and are to be ſold by Peter Parker under Creed Church neer Aldgate; And by Robert Bouher at the Turks Head in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet; And Matthias Walker, under St. Dunſtens Church in Fleet-ſtreet, 1667.

TITLE-PAGE OF MILTON'S "PARADISE LOST," FIRST EDITION, 1667

Paradise Regained. Among Milton's visitors in the small house outside of London where he spent his last years was a Quaker called Thomas Elwood. "Thou hast given us 'Paradise Lost,'" said Elwood one day, "what of 'Paradise Regained'?" In answer Milton wrote his second epic, dealing with the temptation of Christ in the wilderness — the great parallel with the temptation of Adam in the garden, showing

the defeat of evil, as the earlier poem had shown its triumph. This sequel is said to have been Milton's favorite, but like so many sequels it has failed to equal the first part in the esteem of most readers. It is less splendid, more severe and restrained, in style; and the theology tends to get the better of the poetry.

Samson Agonistes. Along with it was published *Samson Agonistes*, one of the most nearly perfect of his works. It is a treatment of the story of Samson "the athlete" from the Old Testament, and it is cast in the form of a Greek tragedy, with a chorus constantly on the stage, and the consequent unity of time and place. In the story of Samson, betrayed by his wife, blind amid the triumph of his enemies, there were parallels to the poet's own experiences close enough to make inevitable a certain poignancy in their treatment. None of Milton's various allusions to his own affliction is more piercing than Samson's lament over the loss of his sight.

> O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
> Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
> Without all hope of day!
> O first created beam, and thou great Word,
> 'Let there be light,' and light was over all;
> Why am I thus bereav'd thy prime decree?
> The sun to me is dark
> And silent as the moon
> When she deserts the night,
> Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.

The meter of *Samson* is of irregular length and usually unrimed, but Milton uses this freedom to surpass, if that were possible, the superb music of *Paradise Lost*. The style is comparatively plain, but the vivid imaginative treatment of scene and character and the sublime though subdued harmonies of the verse make it one of his greatest poetical achievements. The appreciation of the exquisiteness of such lines as these is almost a test of a reader's sensibility to the finer qualities of poetry.

Summary. Such is the accomplishment of Milton. Men's ways of thinking, in religion as in other matters, have changed much since his day, and the loss of interest in many things which he thought of the highest importance could not fail to work against his popularity in later ages. But the appreciation of moral loftiness and of the beauty of sound and image never go out of fashion, and this assures the immortality of Milton.

Thus we have seen that though Cavalier and Puritan serve to name the two opposing tendencies of the period, they are far from being completely descriptive of its productions. Some men politically attached to the Cavaliers showed a profound religious nature and lived strictly; some, like Milton, politically attached to the Puritan, retained the power of the enjoyment of beauty. Others again, like Bacon, were essentially detached from the standing controversies of the time, and had individual enthusiasms of their own. But the highest art of the period, in this age as always, came from a combination of the best elements of all parties and tendencies.

Guides to Study

Reading. Bacon's Essays on Truth, Death, Revenge, Friendship, Study, Travel, Cunning, and The True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates. Selections from Burton, Browne, Walton, in prose, and Lovelace, Suckling, Carew, Montrose, Herrick, Herbert, Donne, Crashaw, in the collections. Milton: L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Lycidas; Sonnets On the Massacres in Piedmont; On His Blindness, and On His Wife, To Cyriac Skinner; Paradise Lost, I and II.

Scott's The Fortunes of Nigel; Shorthouse's John Inglesant; Browning's Strafford, Cavalier Tunes; Aytoun's Scottish Cavaliers.

Questions. Contrast the political conditions of the period from 1603 to 1660 with those of Elizabeth's reign. What great struggle occurred? Name its chief events. Describe the Cavalier type; the Puritan type. What religious differences arose? Name some of the leading Puritans and tell what you know of each. What were the causes of the Civil War? Name several types of literary production of this period. Give reasons

for such varied forms. What quality characterizes Sir Thomas Browne's style? What famous book was written by Izaak Walton?

Give Bacon's dates and the chief events of his life. Why he is called a forerunner of modern science? Name his chief literary work; his chief philosophical work. Tell the story of the New Atlantis. What bit from his Essays do you like? What literary excellences have they?

What is a lyric poem? Give the main facts in Suckling's life; in Lovelace's life. Recite from memory a stanza from either To Lucasta or To Althea from Prison. Quote the stanza you like best from Shirley's Dirge. Give the facts in the life of Robert Herrick. Name the qualities you find in some of his lyrics. Which one do you prefer? In what respects does George Herbert differ from Herrick? What makes John Donne difficult to understand? Find some fine lines from his poems. What is meant by "the metaphysical poets"? What are "conceits"? Illustrate.

Into what three periods does Milton's life divide itself? Give the dates and main facts and the writings of each. What do you think of his personality? What is a masque? Give the theme of Comus. Name two of his prose pamphlets. Memorize one of the sonnets. What were the circumstances of the writing of Paradise Lost? Give the plot of Paradise Lost. Select a great passage. What combination of influences is found in Paradise Lost? Give the circumstances that led to the writing of Paradise Regained. Compare it with Paradise Lost. To what type of poetry does Samson Agonistes belong? Tell the plot. What are its excellences? Quote some great lines.

Summarize the tendencies of the period.

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. Cavalier *versus* Puritan. A Country Gentleman: Sir Thomas Browne or Izaak Walton. A Courtier: Bacon or Lovelace. An Imaginary Conversation between Sir Francis Bacon and Thomas Edison. A Trip to the New Atlantis in an Airplane. Why I Enjoy George Herbert's Poems. The Personal Allusions in Milton's Poems. A Visit to Milton in his Old Age. The Hero of Paradise Lost.

Chronological Table, 1616–1660

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1618. Cowley born. Lovelace born. Raleigh died.		1618. Beginning of the Thirty Years' War.
1619. Drummond of Hawthornden. Conversations with Ben Jonson.		
1620. Bacon, *Novum Organum.*		1620. Landing of the Pilgrims.
1621. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy.*	1621. La Fontaine born.	
1623. Shakespeare, the *First Folio* printed.	1622. Molière born. 1623. Pascal born.	
1625. Fletcher died. Lodge died.		1625. Charles I.
1626. Bacon died.		
1628. Bunyan born.		1629. Charles I governs without a parliament.
1631. George Herbert, *The Temple.* Donne died. Dryden born.		
1634. Milton, *Comus* (acted).	1635. French Academy founded. 1636. Corneille, *Le Cid.*	1636. Harvard College founded. Providence founded by Roger Williams.
1637. Ben Jonson died.		1637. Hampden's trial.
1638. Milton, *Lycidas.*	1639. Racine born.	
1640 Izaak Walton, *Life of Donne.* Massinger died.		1640. The Long Parliament. 1641. Execution of Strafford.
1642. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici.* Fuller, *Profane and Holy State.* Newton born.	1642. Galileo died.	1642. Civil War begins. Cardinal Richelieu died
		1643. Louis XIV King of France.
1644. Milton, *Areopagitica.*		1644. Battle of Marston Moor.
1645. Waller, *Poems.*		1645. Execution of Laud. Battle of Naseby.
1647. Cowley, *The Mistress.*		
1648. Herrick, *Hesperides.*		1648. Thirty Years' War ends with Peace of Westphalia.
1649. Lovelace, *Lucasta.*		1649. Execution of Charles. Government by House of Commons.
	1650. Descartes died.	1650. Execution of Montrose.
1651. Hobbes, *Leviathan.* Taylor, *Holy Dying.*		
1653. Walton, *Compleat Angler.*		1653. Cromwell, Lord High Protector.
1658. Browne, *Urn Burial.* Dryden, *Stanzas on the Death of Cromwell.* Lovelace died.	1659. Molière, *Les Precieuses Ridicules.*	1658. Cromwell died. 1659. Richard Cromwell resigns. 1660. Restoration of Charles II.

CHAPTER IX

THE AGE OF DRYDEN, 1660–1700

INTRODUCTION. Political History. Change of Morals. France under Louis XIV. French Influence.

THE DRAMA. Changes. Tragedy. Comedy.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITERS. Pepys's *Diary*. *Hudibras*. *Pilgrim's Progress*.

JOHN DRYDEN. Early Writings. *Absalom and Achitophel*. Satire. *The Hind and the Panther*. Later Prose and Verse. Dryden's Qualities as a Writer. Neo-classicism. Laws and Rules. Rationalism. Dryden as a Neo-classicist. Morality.

SUMMARY.

Political History. Oliver Cromwell was one of the greatest of rulers. Charles II, who came to the throne in 1660, was one of the meanest. But the nation, wearied of the strict rule of Cromwell, welcomed the restoration of the Stuarts and suffered without much complaint the disgraceful reign of Charles II for twenty-five years. James II, who succeeded to the throne in 1685, was a Catholic in faith, and attempted to turn the nation to Catholicism. The result was that he was driven from the country, and William of Orange and his wife Mary, daughter of James II, were established as joint rulers. This revolution of 1688 again showed the power of Parliament to make and unmake kings, and a Declaration of Rights safeguarded the liberty of the people and prepared the way for a constitutional government. Parliament had won a great and lasting victory against the abuse of royal power. England was still far from being a democracy, but it had taken the leadership of the world in limiting the power of kings.

Change of Morals. The Restoration of the Stuarts was marked by a reaction against the stern morality of the Puritans.

Charles II was dissolute and selfish and surrounded himself with men and women who rivaled him in these qualities. In the court circles there was little regard for decency. The theaters, which received their licenses from the king, naturally responded to the taste of a court which found pleasure in immorality. This intentional indecency is found to a lesser degree in other forms of literature as well as the drama, yet it must be remembered that neither Puritanism nor morality was dead, and that Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* both appeared during the reign of Charles II.

France under Louis XIV. France was during this period the most powerful kingdom of Europe. Louis XIV, who reigned from 1661 to 1715, exercised absolute authority at home and was extending his dominions at the expense of Spain and Austria. Both Charles II and James II were in his pay and usually did as he wished. It was only with the accession of William of Orange that England began to take any active part in the alliance of European states to preserve a balance of power against the encroachments of France. Meanwhile, Versailles, the magnificent new palace built by Louis, was the center of Europe. Architecture, science, and literature brought their glories to adorn his reign. Corneille and Racine in tragedy, and Molière in comedy were giving to French drama its most splendid epoch. French critics, Boileau in chief, were fixing laws and rules by which they confidently expected all literature would be governed.

French Influence. It was natural under these circumstances that Englishmen should imitate the literature as well as the costumes, manners, and entertainments of the French court. For the next century, indeed, the intercourse between England and France in letters, science, and philosophy was to be constant and intimate. No important book could appear in one country without influence upon the other. Men of letters corresponded and visited between the two countries, and there was a free interchange of ideas that scarcely extended beyond

their territories. Spain and Germany were both exhausted by the Thirty Years' War, and Italy had ceased to lead in the worlds of intellect and art. After a time, England gave France as much as she received from her; but during this period England, like the other nations, looked to France for models and directions in literature.

The Drama

Changes. The French influence is most marked in the drama, where Paris had both the great plays of Racine and Molière and the very precise rules of Boileau. Rimed couplets instead of blank verse, the three unities, a more regular construction, and the presentation of types rather than individuals — these were some of the French requirements which English dramatists had more or less in mind. It must not be thought, however, that the acted drama of the Restoration bore any close resemblance to that of Paris. When the London theaters were reopened, the Elizabethan plays were revived, and many of them long held the stage. Shakespeare's romantic comedies had no charm for the new age, but his great tragedies and the Falstaff plays were regularly performed. Shakespeare, like other of the Elizabethans, suffered from revisers who made over some of the plays to suit the new fashions, and thus produced monstrous combinations of his genius and their foolishness. But the supremacy of Shakespeare, in spite of his disregard of French rules, was unimpaired in the theaters. Jonson and Fletcher were also highly admired, and Fletcher's clever and lively plays served as models for the Restoration dramatists.

Tragedy. The best tragedies followed the Elizabethan traditions, and Racine was not much imitated until later. Dryden's *All for Love*, written in blank verse in emulation of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, is his greatest success in the drama. *The Orphan* and *Venice Preserved* by Thomas Otway show a remarkable power of pathos and kept the stage for a century and a half. The most striking departure from

Elizabethan practices was made by the so-called heroic plays. These were written in rimed couplets (heroic verse) and were not unlike the pompous and long-winded French romances of that day. Historical persons, as Montezuma or Alexander, are represented as very much entangled in the toils of love and honor. The hero is usually pursued by a wicked and jealous princess. He is always a prodigy of valor and magnanimity, but is also an extremely proper person who would much sooner kill a thousand men or die heartbroken on his sword than violate one bit of etiquette in the complicated code of honor as practiced in the court of Louis XIV. The amusing burlesque of these plays in the Duke of Buckingham's *Rehearsal* helped to make their fashion a brief one, but their pompous hero and rival ladies had long careers in tragedy and romance.

Comedy. Comedies were very numerous and mostly of one sort. They picture the world of fashion and represent what was supposed to be gallantry. They are not only very coarse in language but their entire view of the relations between men and women is immoral and dishonest. About all the good that can be said of Charles II is that he was witty, and the same is true of the comedies that flourished in his reign. Perhaps the best of these is Congreve's *Way of the World*, in which Millamant is a really attractive and brilliant picture of a lady of fashion. These comedies by Wycherley, Etherege, Congreve, and Farquhar, have been defended by as fine a critic as Charles Lamb on the ground that they present an unreal play-world where morality and other matters of reality can be disregarded. But, with all their gayety, they do reflect the sensuality, hardness, and brutality of the courtiers of this period.

Miscellaneous Writers

Pepys's Diary. A truer and a more amusing picture of the manners of the time is to be found in the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys. He was an able and respected secretary of the Ad-

miralty Board, with a childlike curiosity about everything, who kept a secret diary which was not discovered until over a century after his death. In it you may read of the events of the first ten years of the reign of Charles — of the enthusiasm over the Restoration, of the Dutch war, when the Dutch ships sailed up the Thames, of the plague, of the great fire which burned two thirds of London, of the theaters, operas, and pageants. It tells what happened to Pepys day by day, what he read, what he ate and drank, what he spent, of his coats and his wife's dresses, of his flirtations and jealousies, of his worries and repentances. There are many memoirs, confessions, and autobiographies, but none like this in the fullness and frankness of its records. A paragraph or two will indicate how amusing his frankness is.

[November 22d, 1660.] This morning came the carpenters to make me a door at the other side of my house, going into the entry, which I was much pleased with. At noon my wife and I walked to the Old Exchange, and there she bought her a white whisk [1] and put it on, and I a pair of gloves, and so we took coach for Whitehall to Mr. Fox's, where we found Mrs. Fox within, and an alderman of London paying £1000 or £1400 in gold upon the table for the King, which was the most gold that ever I saw together in my life. Mr. Fox came in presently and did receive us with a great deal of respect; and then did take my wife and I to the Queen's presence chamber, where he got my wife placed behind the Queen's chair, and I got into the crowd, and by-and-by the Queen and the two Princesses came to dinner. The Queen, a very little plain old woman, and nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garb than any ordinary woman. The Princess of Orange I had often seen before. The Princess Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her hair frized short up to her ears, did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife, standing near her with two or three black patches on, and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she. Dinner being done, we went to Mr. Fox's again, where many gentlemen dined with us, and most princely dinner, all provided for me and my friends; but I bringing none but myself and wife, he did call the company to help to eat up so much good victuals. At the end of dinner, my Lord Sandwich's health was drunk in the gilt tankard that I did give to Mrs. Fox the other day.

[1] A gorget or neckerchief worn by women at this time.

Butler's Hudibras. One winter morning in 1663 Pepys, who was a great book collector, bought a copy of the new poem *Hudibras*, and was much disappointed in what "all the world cries up to be an example of wit." The king couldn't say enough in praise of this poem and gave copies to all his cronies, although he neglected to reward Samuel Butler the author. It is a satire, a kind of poetry which was destined to flourish in this period. Hudibras is a knight seeking adventure, something after the fashion of Don Quixote; and in him the worst side of the Puritans is held up to very skillful ridicule.

For his religion, it was fit
To match his learning and his wit,
'Twas Presbyterian, true blue;
For he was of that stubborn crew
Of errant saints, who all men grant
To be the true church militant:
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;
Decide all controversy by
Infallible artillery;
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks;
Call fire and sword and desolation
A godly-thorough-Reformation,
Which always must be carried on
And still be doing, never done,
As if religion were intended
For nothing else but to be mended.
A sect whose chief devotion lies
In odd perverse antipathies:
In falling out with that or this,
And finding somewhat still amiss:
More peevish, cross, and splenetic,
Than dog distract, or monkey sick,
That with more care keeps holy-day
The wrong, than others the right way:
Compound for sins they are inclin'd to
By damning others they have no mind to:
Still so perverse and opposite,
As if they worship'd God for spite.

Pilgrim's Progress. The better side of the Puritans is set forth in the world-famous *Pilgrim's Progress*, the first part of which appeared in 1678. John Bunyan (1628–1688), its author, was a man of the common people, a tinker by trade with little education. He fought in the civil war, and by the time he was twenty-five had experienced that spiritual struggle and conversion which he described so vividly in *Grace Abounding*. He became a preacher, and because he would not conform to the church of England nor promise to stop preaching, he spent the twelve years from 1660 to 1672 in Bedford jail. There he wrote many tracts and books, and planned and possibly finished *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In 1672 he was freed from jail by the general suspension of penal statutes against Nonconformists. The rest of his life was marked by ceaseless activity. No preacher of his time had his power of reaching the hearts of the common people, and this power was carried over into his writing. In his theological discussions Bunyan was not lacking in those "vigorous apostolic blows and knocks" attributed to Hudibras, but there is no sectarian bitterness in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. If Pepys's *Diary* shows the everyday life with great reality, Bunyan's allegory reveals, with a

BUNYAN'S DREAM

(From 1680 edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress")

vividness to be found only in the greatest masters, the inner spiritual life as it was known by thousands of Christians, Catholic, Anglican, and Nonconformist.

The Pilgrim's Progress tells of the spiritual pilgrimage of Christian, who flies from the City of Destruction, meets with the perils and temptations of the Slough of Despond, Vanity Fair, and Doubting Castle, faces and overcomes Apollyon, and comes to the Delectable Mountains and the Celestial City. In form a dream which becomes an allegory of the Christian life, it belongs to a class of literature of which there are many earlier examples; but Bunyan had no care for literary models or literary fame. He wrote with the aid of few books except the Bible, which he knew from cover to cover, but he produced a great work of literature, for it corresponded to the experiences and touched the hearts of millions. His persons are as real and as well known as Shakespeare's or Homer's; his story has been a book of wonder for generations of children and a consolation to generations of their elders. *The Pilgrim's Progress* went through several editions at once, and has since been reprinted innumerable times and translated into almost every language. It is said to be the most popular and best-known English book.

John Dryden (1631–1700)

Early Writings. It was a century before Bunyan's popular book was recognized as belonging to literature, or before Pepys's *Diary* was discovered. The chief man of letters during the period was John Dryden, and his writings are representative of almost every form of literature that flourished during his lifetime. Born in 1631, at seventeen he wrote a silly poem on the death of Lord Hastings from smallpox. One couplet was quoted in the last chapter to illustrate the use of absurd conceits. The pimples are compared to rosebuds, gems, and to stars in a constellation. But Dryden soon broke away from this false style, and indeed taught English verse that vigor and

DRYDEN

strength could go hand in hand with ease and simplicity. He wrote a poem lamenting Cromwell's death, another rejoicing over Charles's accession, and the *Annus Mirabilis* on the year (1666) of the Dutch war, the great fire of London and the plague. He soon became one of the chief writers of both comedies and heroic plays, and in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* established his position as the leading critic of the day. His *All for Love* has already been noted as the best tragedy of the period.

Absalom and Achitophel. The first poem fully to display his genius was *Absalom and Achitophel*. Like *Hudibras* it is a satire, and like *The Pilgrim's Progress* an allegory, but its subject is not religion but politics. It deals with the effort of Shaftesbury and Buckingham to secure succession to the throne for the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles and a Protestant, instead of for Charles's brother, the Catholic Duke of York, afterwards James II. The poem is based on the biblical story of David and Absalom, the David being Charles II, Absalom Monmouth, and Achitophel Shaftesbury. Perhaps the most telling satire is the portrait of Zimri, intended for the Duke of Buckingham, who two years before had ridiculed Dryden and the heroic plays in the burlesque drama *The Rehearsal*.

> Some of their chiefs were princes of the land;
> In the front rank of these did Zimri stand,
> A man so various that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome:
> Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
> Was everything by starts and nothing long,
> But in the course of one revolving moon
> Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon;
> Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
> Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking.
> Blest madman, who could every hour employ
> With something new to wish or to enjoy!
> Railing and praising were his usual themes
> And both, to show his judgment, in extremes:

So over-violent or over-civil
That every man with him was God or Devil.
In squandering wealth was his peculiar art,
Nothing went unrewarded but desert.
Beggared by fools whom still he found too late,
He had his jest, and they had his estate.

Satire. Satire may be defined as a union of denunciation and humor. Without humor it becomes mere invective, and without an expression of hostility or disgust, it becomes parody or burlesque, or some other form of humorous writing. Satire became a distinct form of poetry during the Roman Empire, and was pleasant and genial in Horace, eloquent and tragic in Juvenal, epigrammatic in Martial. In English literature there was much satirical writing during the Middle Ages, especially on the subjects of women and the clergy, and there are many satirical touches in Chaucer. Later Ben Jonson strove to make his comedies satirical attacks on the follies and evils of his time. It was not, however, until Dryden's day that satire became again a favorite form of poetry. His *Medal* and *MacFlecknoe* were also examples of this form, the latter on the rival poet Thomas Shadwell, chosen by the King of Dullness as his successor —

Shadwell alone my perfect image bears,
Mature in dullness from his tender years.

The Hind and the Panther. Two other long poems deal with religion. *Religio Laici*, the Religion of a Layman, defended the Church of England; but when James II came to the throne Dryden went over to the Roman Catholic Church. The result of his conversion was *The Hind and the Panther*, the Church of England being represented by the panther, and the Church of Rome by the hind:

A milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged,
Fed on the lawns and in the forest ranged;
Without unspotted, innocent within,
She feared no danger, for she knew no sin.

There has been much discussion as to Dryden's sincerity in his change of religion, but the poems present the arguments which led him to a serious consideration of religion and to his change of faith. If he hoped to gain preferment by adopting the religion of the king, he was soon disappointed, for the Revolution of 1688 drove James II from the throne, established William and Mary, and provided for a Protestant succession. Dryden was thereupon deprived of the laureateship, in which he was succeeded by Shadwell, and of all his offices and pensions, and was forced to use his writing for a living.

Later Prose and Verse. He returned to the stage and in *Don Sebastian* produced a tragedy little if any inferior to his *All for Love*, but his main efforts went into his translation of Virgil and *The Fables*. *The Fables* are narratives founded on stories from Boccaccio and Chaucer and exhibit Dryden in his old age still a great master of vigorous and melodious verse. The "Preface to the *Fables*" is one of the best of a number of critical essays written in admirable prose. In these later years he had come to be regarded as a sort of literary dictator. A chair was reserved for him at Wills's coffee house, where all young writers sought his society and listened to his criticism. He died in the closing year of the century.

Dryden's Qualities as a Writer. Dryden's works fill many volumes and present a wide variety of subjects. As a writer of familiar prose and as a critic of literature he surpassed his predecessors. His poetry is manifestly the work of a great writer, yet its qualities and its merits are not those of Spenser and Shakespeare nor those of modern poets like Shelley and Keats. He has been called "the poet of the intellect not of the spirit." He rarely attempts the most profound or intense emotion. He does not write his heart out, and he does not introduce us to an unexpected world of wonderment. He does not enter sympathetically into the characters of individual men and women as do Chaucer and Shakespeare; and he does not interpret his own moods and aspirations as Wordsworth and

Shelley do theirs. In his dramas he never fully succeeds in realizing a human being. He finds subjects for poetry in the events and discussions of the day, and is at his best in satire or argument. In his expression there is a lack of the wealth of surprising images which we find in Shakespeare or again in Shelley, but the images are clearly drawn. He uses the riming couplet with great ease and without vagueness, but to our taste there is a confinement in the fixed accents and recurring rimes which seems to bind the fancy and limit the melody. Within the bounds set by form and subject matter, his success is indeed great, but it is a success which never stirs our emotions as do the greatest poems.

Neo-classicism. The limitations in Dryden's poetry are limitations to be found in most English poets after Milton until Burns. They are the outcome of a change in men's taste and ideas which we have already noted as represented in French literature and criticism, and which is often known as Neo-classicism. The literature of the Renaissance had learned much from the classics, but principally it derived new ideas, new impulses, and an impetus to individual effort. Elizabethan poetry carried this individual freedom to excess until it degenerated into far-fetched conceits or impossible subjects, as in Dryden's boyish effort to poetize the smallpox. The French critics found in the classics the law and order which they deemed desirable, and they taught the need of controlling individual experiment by general rule. Ben Jonson had preached similar doctrine, but French men of letters carried it farther and practiced it more successfully. They wished literature to represent life, but life arranged and classified. For certain subjects certain forms were suitable, to be determined partly by the practice of the classics and partly by good sense. A story about a hero, for instance, should be told in an epic like those of Homer and Virgil. The classical literature offered models that could not be surpassed, or in any event could be surpassed only by following in the paths where they

had led the way. Poetry, following the ancient divisions, should be dramatic, lyric, epic, didactic, or satiric, and for each class principles could be established.

Laws and Rules. We have seen in the case of the drama that rules were insisted upon with much preciseness. Whether the unity of time should require events that would take place in the time of performance or whether it should be extended to twenty-four hours, was a subject of much debate. In the desire to have everything regular and typical, the new classicists frowned on Shakespeare for the very qualities that we most admire in him, the variety and individuality of his characters. They believed that the drama should deal with well-recognized types, each type representing a large class of individuals. All kings should talk and act in one way, all merchants in another way. There should be one general pattern to which all kings should be drawn, another for merchants, others for soldiers, lovers, lawyers, and the various types to be represented on the stage. A critic like Boileau seemed confident that fixed rules could be prescribed which should govern a poet's art. Instead of his art being unconscious, "his eye in a fine frenzy rolling," as Shakespeare had described him, and instead of its being individual and original, it was something to be studied and predetermined. Some merit was allowed to genius, but geniuses needed rules, reason, and models.

Rationalism. There were many causes why this plea for law and order was welcomed in the Restoration period. It was indeed being heard in almost every form of human activity. In religion men were becoming tired of eccentric extremes, of schism and conflict; they were beginning to desire conformity, agreement in some accepted order. In philosophy, John Locke was turning men's minds to the importance of facts and reason, and of an orderly analysis of knowledge. In science, great advances in mathematics and astronomy were fixing the general attention on the prevalence of law in the physical world. Sir Isaac Newton had established the great

law of gravitation and shown the solar system moving with the accuracy of clockwork under this single force. Men were coming to look upon the universe as impersonal, fixed, static. The deists, who counted in their numbers some of the ablest men of the age, looked upon God as the creator who had made the vast machine, wound it up, and left it to itself, — or to the laws that controlled it. Society also seemed fixed, divided into classes and groups. Law and order rather than freedom and initiative appeared the great essentials for safe government and good conduct. For such a world, men desired a literature rationalized, systematized, cut to a pattern.

Dryden as Neo-classicist. Whatever may be thought of these underlying principles, there can be no doubt that the neo-classicists made themselves ridiculous when they tried to turn their theories into fixed rules. Both theories and rules had a long sway, and in the case of prose writing they proved beneficial. French prose grew into a remarkably precise and flexible form of expression, partly by following a general consent as to what was best. Dryden was among the first to make English prose conformable to standards, and he was followed by an age of great prose writers. In poetry neo-classicism was less successful in English, but it has partly to its credit the works of Dryden and Pope. Dryden was perhaps rather of a critical than an inventive type of mind; he was much interested in critical theories and wrote under their influence. It can hardly be said that he suffered from their limitations, for his imagination was not so original that it could not be fenced in by formulas. His art proved adequate to give a remarkably comprehensive representation of the age in which he lived, but he did not rise above it.

Morality. One other change in ideas is to be discerned in the course of Dryden's writing, the growing insistence on morality in literature. This was not out of keeping with the neo-classical ideas, and it was the more needed because of the grossness which entered with the Restoration into the drama.

The call for decency in the theater was sounded by Jeremy Collier in his *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* in 1698. Dryden bowed his head in repentance, and the book found an immediate response from the public. The comedy of the period was like the measles, disfiguring but soon over. Henceforth England has required of its theater and its literature a clean face and at least an outward decency.

Summary. During this period prose comedies and satiric and didactic poems were among the most popular forms of literature. The book which has been most cherished by later centuries, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, was foreign to the dominant literary taste of its own day. That taste is best represented by the work of John Dryden, who, as essayist and critic, tragic and comic dramatist, satiric, didactic, and narrative poet, won the approval of his own age and an undisputed position as chief man of letters. His comedies share the current immorality, and his poems show the limitations of the prevailing neoclassicism and rationalism, but he remains to-day one of the great masters of English prose and verse.

Guides to Study

Reading. The Pilgrim's Progress, Part I, is the one book of this period which should be read in its entirety by the class. Selections from Pepys s Diary, John Evelyn's Diary, and from Dryden are to be found in Snyder, Newcomer, Manly, and other collections. Absalom and Achitophel and MacFlecknoe, except for a few omitted passages, are reprinted in Snyder and Martin.

Chapter III of Macaulay's History of England gives a famous picture of life in England during this period.

Novels: Scott's Old Mortality; Conan Doyle's Micah Clarke.

Questions. Who were rulers of England during the age of Dryden? What was the "Restoration"? the "Revolution of 1688"? Who was king of France during this period? Who were some of the great French writers? How was French influence manifest in English drama? How were Shakespeare's plays regarded? Describe a "heroic play." Who

were some of the writers of comedy? What was the influence of the court on the drama? Describe Pepys's Diary, Hudibras. What is the story of Pilgrim's Progress? Why has it been one of the most-read and best-loved books?

Give an account of Dryden's life. Name his chief works in their order of publication. Tell the story of Absalom and Achitophel. Define "satire." Name some Latin satiric poets. Explain the title of The Hind and the Panther. What writer before Dryden had been a sort of literary dictator?

Explain "neo-classicism." What models did it follow? What divisions of poetry did it recognize? What laws and rules did it prescribe to the drama? In what ways was the age rationalistic? What do you think of the need of law and order in poetry? In what respects did Dryden illustrate the principles of the neo-classicists? What do you like in his poetry? How does it compare with the poetry of Milton? of Chaucer?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. A Day in London with Pepys. At Wills's Coffee House. Write a brief satire in riming couplets on some phase of current politics. Neo-classicism. An Imaginary Interview between Bunyan and Samuel Butler. A Day at Versailles in the Time of Louis XIV. Sir Isaac Newton.

Chronological Table, 1660–1700

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1660. Dryden, *Astrea Redux.* Pepys begins his *Diary.*	1662. Molière, *L'École des Femmes.*	1660. Charles II. The Restoration.
1663. Butler, *Hudibras,* Part I.		1661. Louis XIV.
1666. Bunyan, *Grace Abounding.*	1666. Molière, *Le Misanthrope.*	1665. Great Plague in London.
1667. Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis.* Milton, *Paradise Lost.*	1667. Molière, *Tartuffe.* Racine, *Andromacque.*	1666. Great Fire of London.
	1668. La Fontaine, *Fables.*	
1670. Dryden, poet laureate.		
1671. Duke of Buckingham's *Rehearsal.* Milton, *Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes.*		
1672. Dryden, *Conquest of Granada* (preface on Heroic Plays).	1673. Boileau, *L'Art Poetique.* Molière, *La Malade Imaginaire.* Molière died.	
1674. Milton died.	1674. Racine, *Iphigénie.*	
1678. Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress.* Dryden, *All for Love.*	1677 Racine, *Phêdre.*	
1680. Otway, *The Orphan.*		
1681. Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel.*	1681. Calderon died.	1681. French seized Strasburg.
1682. Dryden, *Medal, MacFlecknoe, Religio Laici.*		1683. Siege of Vienna by Turks.
1683. Izaak Walton died.	1684. Corneille died.	
		1685. James II. Insurrection of Monmouth. Revocation of Edict of Nantes.
1687. Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther.*		
1689. Dryden deprived of laureateship, which is given to Shadwell.		1688. The Revolution.
		1689. William and Mary.
1692. Sir William Temple, *Essays.*		1690. Battle of the Boyne
1695. Congreve, *Love for Love.*		
1698. Collier, *Short View.*		1697. Peace of Ryswick.
1700. Congreve, *Way of the World.* Dryden died.		

CHAPTER X

THE AGE OF POPE, 1700–1744

INTRODUCTION. Political History. Party Government. Foreign Affairs. England and France. Characteristics of Literature. Literature and Politics. Literature is More Modern.

ALEXANDER POPE. Life and Character. *Essay on Criticism*. *The Rape of the Lock*. Translation of Homer. Pope and the Dunces. The *Moral Essays*. Pope as a Satirist. Was Pope a True Poet?

JONATHAN SWIFT. Life. In London. Stella. Later Years. His Character. *Gulliver's Travels*. Irony. Pessimism.

ADDISON AND STEELE. Addison. Steele. The Familiar Essay. *The Spectator*. Sir Roger de Coverley. Prose Style.

DANIEL DEFOE. Life and Personality. Journalism. Politics. Fiction. *Robinson Crusoe*.

MINOR WRITERS. Poets. Dramatists.

SUMMARY.

Political History. The age of Pope is often known as the Augustan age because its writers were fond of comparing themselves to Virgil, Cicero, Horace, and the other great writers who made famous the Roman literature in the time of Augustus. Moreover, men of the upper classes felt very well pleased with themselves and with the age in which they lived. In art and literature, in comforts and luxuries, in knowledge and taste, they believed that one would have to go back to the early days of the Roman Empire in order to find an era equal to their own. The period, extending from the death of Dryden (1700) to the death of Pope (1744) nearly coincides with the reigns of Queen Anne, George I, and George II. Queen Anne, the daughter of James II, died without children, and the Catholic Stuarts were excluded in favor of the Protestant George, Elector of Hanover, whose claim lay in his descent from Elizabeth,

daughter of James I. Efforts to reinstate the Stuarts led to various plots and revolutions, culminating in that of 1745 in which Charles Edward the young pretender, the Prince Charlie of the songs, aided by loyal Scots, penetrated some distance into England. This was the last effort of the Stuarts, and the house of Hanover has remained since then in undisputed possession of the throne.

Party Government. George I was a German who spoke little English, and George II exercised small authority; hence the period saw a great development of the government by Parliament through responsible ministers. It also witnessed the growth of the two-party system which has continued down to the present time in England and the United States. The Whigs supported the constitution of 1688, the Protestant succession, and a slow development of popular government, with civil and religious liberty. The Tories were less certain in their support of the Protestant succession and more distrustful of the people. In general, however, both parties represented the land owners rather than the mass of the people, and each was chiefly concerned in keeping the offices in its own hands. The ministers were selected by the crown but they could continue in office only when supported by a majority in Parliament. The Whigs were usually in a majority through this period, and England was governed by their leaders, the Duke of Marlborough in the reign of Anne, and Sir Robert Walpole during those of the first two Georges.

Foreign Affairs. England's power abroad was constantly increasing. She became the leader of the European coalition against Louis XIV of France, and the Duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim (1704) was the first great blow to the ambitions of that monarch. The British colonies in America prospered and spread along the Atlantic seacoast, and British traders in India were contesting with French and Portuguese for possession of that empire. England and France were now pitted in a battle for supremacy not merely in Europe but in

both hemispheres of the world, and the treaties of Ryswick (1697) and of Utrecht (1713) marked stages in a conflict that resounded not alone on the oft-contested battle fields of Europe, but along the water ways of the primeval forests of America.

England and France. The contest with France in war was accompanied by a friendly rivalry in the arts of peace. France was still at the front of civilization, and Voltaire and other leaders of its thought were proclaiming an age of reason and enlightenment. In their opinion, superstition, including much of religion, was to give way to science, and the affairs of men were to be governed by wisdom derived from experience. In support of these ideas, Frenchmen began to find much to admire in England, in the science of Newton and the philosophy of Locke. Moreover, England was the one nation of Europe which did not have an autocratic monarchy; and to the other nations she stood for the triumph of reason in government, and the home of religious and civil freedom. In philosophy, science, religion, and government, England was attracting more and more the admiration of Europe; but in literature, France was still viewed as the leader, and Voltaire could ridicule Shakespeare as an intoxicated savage. During this period, English literature was governed in some measure by the principles of neo-classicism; but Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton continued to be read and admired, and to foster a taste as hostile to the tyranny of neo-classicism in literature as were liberty and reason to autocratic government.

Characteristics of Literature. The age of Pope was an important period in English literature, distinguished by great writers and presenting a brilliant picture of life and manners. In many respects, however, its literature is very different from that of our own time, and consequently has suffered some neglect. It has, for example, very few stories of romantic love, almost no beautiful heroines aged twenty, little sentiment, and few thrills. It does not greatly idealize its men and women and maidens, and it does not display much enthusiasm for

anything. It has been accused of being cold, formal, prosaic; its admirers enjoy its freedom from gush, exaggeration, and irrationality. Its principles were, as has been said, those of neo-classicism; its aim was the reflection of life as perceived through the reason and under the guidance of the great models of the classics. It accepted life as revealed in the manners and actions of men, rather than in their dreams and aspirations. It was critical, realistic, satirical, rather than idealistic. It sought a clear expression of definite ideas that should be understood by every one, rather than the suggestion of ideas that were novel or subtle or individual. It was a literature devoted to the city rather than the country, to society rather than the individual, to the intellect rather than the emotions, to manners rather than to the soul.

Literature and Politics. Literature also felt the influence of the new politics. The political parties divided all men into two camps, and the services of writers became valuable for party purposes. Swift was the chief literary support of the Tories, Addison of the Whigs, and Defoe divided his unlimited energies between both parties. Patronage of literature became a party affair, and great rewards in office and money were bestowed according as Whig or Tory were in the ascendancy. This connection between literature and party politics has continued in England down to the present day, and even poets, dramatists, and novelists can usually be classified as belonging to the conservative or liberal side; but party politics have never been more bitter than in this period, and the relation of literature to politics has never been closer. The young writer's hope of advance lay less in a popular book or play than in winning the patronage of a political leader.

Literature is More Modern. The growth of periodicals and pamphlets, however, opened the chance for an appeal to the public rather than the patron even in political writing. The reading public was steadily increasing, and while it was interested in politics, it also asked and paid for books and pamphlets

which treated of other matters. Men gathered in their clubs and coffee houses, of which there were soon two thousand in London alone, and talked of literature as well as of affairs. Education was spreading, and for the first time a large number of women turned to reading for instruction and entertainment. The masterpieces of the period have little to do with Whig or Tory, and they depict a society which was interested in much the same things as we are. *The Rape of the Lock*, *Gulliver's Travels*, the Sir Roger de Coverley papers, and *Robinson Crusoe*, represent the leisurely days of big wigs, hooped petticoats, and lumbering coaches, but there is something essentially modern about their men and women, their manners and actions.

Alexander Pope (1688–1744)

Life and Character. Alexander Pope was a Catholic and so deprived of participation in politics. A malady of childhood left him puny, deformed, and an invalid for life. His frail body and his sensitive nerves may excuse some of the irregularities of his character, for if he was affectionate to his friends, he was suspicious, tricky, and vindictive towards those whom he thought his enemies. No one can quite like this imp who would trick even his best friends, but every one must admire the way his mind triumphed over physical weakness and pain. Both the quantity of his writing and its painstaking correctness testify to a life of extraordinary mental energy. He was a great artist with a fine sense of words and rhythms, who schooled himself by constant discipline to write as perfectly as he could.

Essay on Criticism. He began before eighteen with the *Pastorals*, which though imitative and unimportant, won some praise. The *Essay on Criticism* (1711) was praised by Addison in *The Spectator*, and *The Rape of the Lock* made him the first poet of the day. The *Essay on Criticism* follows the *Ars Poetica* of Horace and *L'Art Poetique* of Boileau, and sums up

aptly and readily the current neo-classical view of literature. There are couplets which every one remembers, as —

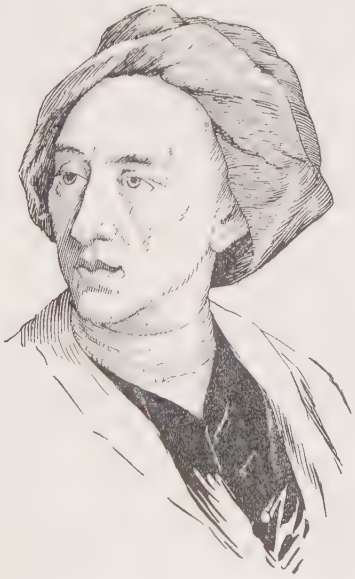
> A little learning is a dangerous thing,
> Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring.
>
> Be not the first by whom the new is tried,
> Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.
>
> True wit is nature to advantage dressed,
> What oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed.

This last couplet well expresses what Pope and the other neo-classicists were attempting. In other couplets he explains why the rules of the ancients must be obeyed.

> Those rules of old, discovered, not devised,
> Are Nature still but Nature methodized.
> Nature, like liberty, is but restrained
> By the same laws which first herself ordained.
>
> Learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem,
> To copy nature is to copy them.

The Rape of the Lock. *The Rape of the Lock* is a mock heroic poem, using all the apparatus and methods of epic poetry to describe a trivial incident, in this case the clipping in sport of a lock of Miss Arabella Fermor's hair by Lord Petre. With much gayety and yet with much satire on the extravagances of fashion, Pope fitted out the young people with all the trappings of Homer's heroes and the supernatural assistance of the sylphs. Miss Arabella makes a charming goddess, and yet we are allowed to suspect that she has faults.

> Not with more glories, in th' ethereal plain,
> The sun first rises o'er the purpled main,
> Than, issuing forth, the rival of his beams
> Launch'd on the bosom of the silver Thames.
> Fair Nymphs, and well-drest Youths around her shone
> But ev'ry eye was fix'd on her alone.
> On her white breast a sparkling Cross she wore,
> Which Jews might kiss, and Infidels adore.



POPE

Her lively looks a sprightly mind disclose,
Quick as her eyes, and as unfix'd as those;
Favours to none, to all she smiles extends;
Oft she rejects, but never once offends.
Bright as the sun, her eyes the gazers strike,
And like the sun, they shine on all alike.
Yet graceful ease, and sweetness void of pride,
Might hide her faults, if Belles had faults to hide;
If to her share some female errors fall,
Look on her face, and you'll forget them all.

The sylphs whose highest task is

To change a flounce, or add a furbelow,

the brightly dressed belles and beaux, the card playing, and the coffee drinking, are all described with an exquisite artfulness and a lifelikeness which is perhaps as applicable to society to-day as in the time when

Snuff, or the fan, supply each pause of chat.

Translation of Homer. Assured that the mantle of Dryden had fallen on his young shoulders, Pope next undertook the most ambitious work which a poet of his time could attempt, the translation of the *Iliad*. In *The Essay on Criticism* he had expressed the reverence in which Homer was held by many who did not follow the precept —

Be Homer's works your study and delight;
Read them by day, and meditate by night.

The prospect of a translation done into "correct" verse was greeted with enthusiasm, and Pope received the support of a subscription of $25,000, sufficient to maintain him during the remainder of his life. "It is a pretty poem but you must not call it Homer," said the Greek scholar Bentley, who saw that the translation was very far from the simplicity and directness of the original; but most readers were satisfied that the genius of this invalid of thirty-two had rendered the greatest

poet of antiquity into verse which they could understand and enjoy.

Pope and the Dunces. Pope was now able to buy a villa at Twickenham on the Thames, and to find great pleasure in adorning the grounds with grottoes and temples; but he also kept very busy with his pen. The translation of the *Odyssey* was finished in 1725 with the aid of assistants, and in the same year appeared his edition of Shakespeare. This edition is a

Pope's Villa at Twickenham

sign of the continuing appreciation of Shakespeare; but Pope corrected meter, grammar, and vocabulary according to his own ideas. The far more scholarly editorial work of Theobald soon made obvious Pope's ignorance of the early texts and of Elizabethan usage, and set Pope to planning some vengeance on Theobald. At the beginning of his career Pope had sought recognition from the Whig literary set, but he had become jealous of Addison, and later found most of his intimates among the Tories, with Swift, Gay, Prior, and Arbuthnot among the writers and chiefly with Bolingbroke among the great noblemen. It was with the approval of these friends that he undertook to attack all the devotees of dullness, the hack-writing

dunces, and incidentally all those who had offended Pope. The result was *The Dunciad*, first published in 1728, but rewritten and worked over until its final edition of 1743. At first Theobald was given the unenviable position of hero, but he was later deposed in favor of Colley Cibber, a play writer who had got the better of a controversy with Pope. The poem is a masterpiece of personal satire, but the subject is not of great interest to posterity, who have forgotten who the dunces were whom Pope lashed with his stinging lines.

THE ONLY FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF POPE

The Moral Essays. Under the guidance of Bolingbroke, Pope also undertook a series of *Moral Essays* setting forth Bolingbroke's own superficial philosophy. The most famous of these, the *Essay on Man*, was widely admired on the Continent and in America as well as in England. While apparently Christian in sentiment, it set forth the current deistic philosophy with the same neatness and dispatch that the *Essay on Criticism* had employed for literary theories. Pope found himself acclaimed as a moral philosopher and guide and was immensely pleased by this reputation. So eager was he to perfect his fame as a moralist that he recovered by hook or crook the letters which he had written to various friends including Swift, and then rewrote those letters to give them the proper moral elevation, and passed them off on the

public as the originals. His many deceptions were not fully exposed until long after his death.

Pope as Satirist. It was not in moral aphorisms but in satire that Pope's genius was most at home, when directed not by the desire to be thought pious but by personal spite. *The Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* is his most personal and perhaps his greatest poem. Nowhere is his genius more amazingly manifest than in the celebrated portrait of Addison, which after years of polishing he finally placed in this epistle. Pope seized upon the few vulnerable points in Addison's character and distorted them with his flashing antitheses. He sharpened his rapier-like points to such perfection that almost every line has become proverbial.

> Peace to all such! But were there one whose fires
> True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires;
> Blest with each talent and each art to please,
> And born to write, converse, and live with ease;
> Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
> Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
> View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
> And hate for arts that caused himself to rise;
> Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
> And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;
> Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
> Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
> Alike reserved to blame, or to commend,
> A timorous foe and a suspicious friend;
> Dreading even fools, by flatterers besieged,
> And so obliging, that he ne'er obliged;
> Like Cato, give his little senate laws,
> And sit attentive to his own applause;
> While wits and templars every sentence raise,
> And wonder with a foolish face of praise —
> Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
> Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?

Was Pope a True Poet? The question has often been debated, Was Pope a true poet? Unquestionably he lacks the passion, the lyrical quality, in fact, most of what makes great

the poetry of Wordsworth, Shelley, and Keats. No more than Dryden is he the poet of the spirit. His poetry, like Dryden's, is manifestly limited in subject matter and form. It is critical, satiric, didactic in content and is written in riming couplets. It accepts the classical models and imitates Horace or translates Homer. Within these limits it is unsurpassable. In fact, Dryden and he had nearly exhausted the possibilities of English poetry under the guidance of neo-classical ideas. Later writers who opposed these ideas found Pope's poetry unworthy, but it is surely a mistake to deny the merits of either his aims or achievements.

Jonathan Swift (1667–1745)

Life. There is no more tragic figure in the history of English literature than that of Jonathan Swift. Poor and proud, he made his way slowly, but by the age of forty-five he had won a great reputation as a writer and great power in politics. His period of triumph was short, and the last thirty years of his life were full of disappointment and bitterness that ended in madness. Born in Ireland, he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and for ten years was secretary in the household of Sir William Temple, the English statesman and essayist. Though this dependent position galled his pride, he had time to read and study and wrote two books, not published until 1704, which reveal his genius full-fledged. The first of these, the *Battle of the Books*, is an amusing contribution to a discussion that was then waging over the relative merits of the ancients and moderns. The second, the *Tale of a Tub*, is a powerful satire ridiculing the divergent practices and beliefs of various religious sects. Swift had just been ordained a clergyman in the Church of England, and he believed that all Englishmen should conform to the national church; but in his book he seemed to many to be attacking not merely sectarians and dissenters but the Christian religion itself.

In London. After Temple's death Swift was disappointed that he had to take a small church in Ireland, for he was well aware of his abilities and ambitious to play a large part in the affairs of church and state in England. In the next few years he contrived to be much in London and soon made his way among the leading men of letters. His growing reputation as a writer of poems, essays, and pamphlets brought him into demand as a political writer. At first his associations were with the Whigs, but by 1710 he had found the Tories more to his liking and more useful to the interests of the church. He came to be on terms of intimacy with the leading statesmen, and greatly enjoyed forcing dukes and duchesses to seek his acquaintance and favor. As a writer of political pamphlets he was without an equal, and he was a powerful aid to the Tories in bringing about the downfall of Marlborough and the conclusion of the war with France. The accession of George I, however, threw the Tories out of power. They gave Swift only the deanery of St. Patrick's as his reward, and sent him back to the Dublin which he hated, sullen and disappointed.

Stella. In the household of Sir William Temple, Swift had made the acquaintance of a girl, Esther Johnson, fourteen years younger than himself. When he had gone to his living in Ireland, she and her friend Mrs. Dingley had joined him there, living in lodgings near him, or in his house when he was absent. During his stay in London he wrote every night a diary for his "Stella," telling of all the happenings in his brilliant world, and invented a sort of baby language for his intimate confidences. It is uncertain whether they were ever secretly married, certainly Swift never acknowledged her as his wife; and it appears that in all the years of their friendship he never saw her except in the company of a third person. Yet in thought and affection they were never separated, and her death in 1728 removed the only light from the blackness of Swift's increasing pessimism.

Later Years. In Ireland Swift lived for over thirty years after his brilliant seasons in London. At first he visited in

England, saw Bolingbroke and Pope occasionally, corresponded with old friends, and hoped for a return of the Tories to power. He wrote a good deal, including two prose works of importance. The first, the *Drapier's Letters* (1724) was a series of political pamphlets bitterly attacking the course of the British government toward Ireland, winning for their author the thanks of all Irishmen. The second was the immortal *Gulliver's Travels.* As the years went on Swift's moroseness increased, and after Stella's death he wrote little of importance except the gruesome *Modest Proposal* for using babies for food instead of permitting them to burden a starving country.

His Character. Swift's character is in many respects puzzling, but there can be no doubt of his independence of mind and will, his hatred of shams and falsehood, his devotion to the church as the necessary government for our depraved race. A man of commanding intellect, proud, morose, convinced of his own ability and contemptuous of that of others, he found it very difficult to admit a fault in himself or to forgive an injury from another. Life was not a happy affair for him; and the more he saw of human beings the more strongly he felt the "scorn for fools." "I love Pope, or Bolingbroke," he wrote, "but I hate man." Even when he loved or was loved, tragedy resulted. Esther Vanhomrigh, "Vanessa," to whom he wrote verses and whom he had too much encouraged, died from the shock of his cruel anger. He seems to have been ashamed and distrustful of the most creditable emotion that cheered his life — his love for Stella. Perhaps some excuse for his misanthropy may be found in the dread of insanity to which he feared he was doomed and which clouded the last decade of his life. He wrote Bolingbroke that he feared he should die in Dublin in a rage "like a poisoned rat in a hole," and there he died in 1745 and was buried in the cathedral by the side of Stella. He left his large fortune to found the St. Patrick asylum for lunatics, which exists to-day, a strange monument to his tragic career.

Swift's prose is simple, precise, without affectation or eccentricity, a model of style as he himself defined it, "proper words in their proper places." His fame rests chiefly on his political writings and on his satires, the *Battle of the Books*, the *Tale of a Tub*, and *Gulliver's Travels*.

Gulliver's Travels. *Gulliver's Travels* is on its face a book of travels to strange lands of pygmies, giants, and horses. Swift's purpose was to expose the vices and follies of mankind by ridiculing them reduced to the minuteness of the Lilliputians, or magnified in the gross Brobdingnagians, or contrasted with the equine virtues of the Houyhnhnms. The effectiveness of such a satire depends on the invention with which these strange worlds are made plausible, and the precision with which the irony makes evident the likeness between the real world and the imaginary. So successful was Swift's invention that, ever since the book was published, children have read the voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag as fairy stories, without worrying about the satire. So effective is the irony that *Gulliver's Travels* remains one of the most appalling exposures of human weakness.

Irony. Irony is saying something in which the intended meaning is quite opposite to the apparent meaning. The following passage illustrates Swift's irony at its prettiest. The ironical meaning is "how petty are human distinctions of rank and greatness." But what force this old truth gains because it is for a moment concealed by the apparent admiration for the minute magnificence of the Lilliputian monarch!

He is taller by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court; which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic. He was then passed his prime, being twenty-eight years and three quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven, in great felicity, and generally victorious. For the better convenience of beholding him, I lay on my side, so that my face was parallel to his, and he stood but three yards off: however, I have had

I told him, that in the Kingdom of Tribnia by the Natives call'd Langden where I had sojourned some time in my Travels, the Bulk of the People consist in a manner wholly of Discoverers, Witnesses, Informers Accusers, Prosecutors, Evidences, Swearers, together with their several Subservients and Subalterns. Instruments all under the Colours and Conduct of Ministers of State and their Deputys. The Plots in that Kingdom are usually the Workmanship of those Persons who desire to raise their own Characters of profound Politicians, to restore new Vigor to a crazy Administration, to stifle or divert general Discontents, to fill their Pockets with Forfeitures, and raise or sink the Opinion of publick Credit, as either shall best answer their private Advantage. It is first agreed and settled among them what Suspected persons shall be accused of a Plot: then effectual Care is taken to secure all their Letters and Papers, and put the Criminals in Chains. Those Papers are delivered to a Set of Artists very dexterous in finding out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables, and Letters. For Instance, they can discover a Close-Stool to signify a Privy Council, a Flock of Geese a Senate, a lame Dog an Invader, a Codshead a —, the Plague a Standing Army, a Buzzard a prime Minister, the Gout a

A Page of MS. of "Gulliver's Travels"

him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of it between the Asiatic and the European; but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword drawn in his hand, to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose; it was almost three inches long, the hilt and scabbard were gold enriched with diamonds. His voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate, and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The ladies and courtiers were all most magnificently clad, so that the spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a petticoat spread on the ground, embroidered with figures of gold and silver. His Imperial Majesty spoke often to me, and I returned answers, but neither of us could understand a syllable.

Pessimism. In the voyage to the Luggnaggians, where Swift's irony gets the better of his invention, the result is dull. In the voyage to the Houyhnhnms irony gives way to invective. We cease to believe in the world of horses and find in the Yahoos an outspoken account of the more brutal traits of mankind. The repulsiveness and indecency of the picture seem to come from a mind in which misanthropy is the last refuge from insanity. Swift's pessimism that was forever gnawing at his own heart found its last distraction in this terrible attack on his fellow men.

Addison and Steele

Addison. Joseph Addison (1672–1719) had none of those perversities of character which we find in Pope and Swift. If his life is less interesting than theirs, it is because he lived and wrote as a gentleman without giving cause for scandal or even for anecdote. After graduating with honors at Oxford, he traveled abroad, meeting scholars, writing verses in Latin, and enlarging his knowledge much as Milton had done sixty years before. On his return to London he was soon recognized as one of the most promising of the Whig men of letters. Marlborough's victory at Blenheim gave him the subject for his poem *The Campaign*, and a political career was opened to him, culminating in his appointment as secretary of state. Among

his writings, one hymn, "The spacious firmament on high," is known to every English reader, and his tragedy *Cato* has furnished extracts for many schoolbooks. But he will always be best known for his essays in *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. In these journals he coöperated with his friend and admirer, Richard Steele.

Steele. Sir Richard Steele (1672–1729) was an emotional and attractive Irishman who was a schoolfellow of Addison's at the Charterhouse and at Oxford. He left college for the army, where he won a captaincy, and then left the army for letters and politics. Steele is well known to us through the many letters which he wrote to his "Inspirer" and "Charmer," and after marriage, his "Ruler" and "Absolute Governess." His wife preserved all these letters, and they reveal him usually in debt but always with grand plans for the future, often very trying to his stern "Governess," but generous, good-natured, impulsive, and likable. He engaged in many literary enterprises, wrote pamphlets in the Whig interest and comedies which carried morality and sentimentality to the stage, but he was at his best in the familiar essays that he contributed to *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. The first of these journals he founded in 1708. It was followed by the second, which appeared every week for nearly two years, 1711–1712.

The Familiar Essay. It must be remembered that newspapers and periodicals were still in their beginnings. Written news letters had been partly superseded in the seventeenth century by news sheets and pamphlets, and finally by newspapers printed and issued at regular intervals. Swift, Defoe, and others were already beginning to use these journals for the expression of political opinion. Steele planned to combine the daily paper with the familiar essay and to provide for the breakfast table of his subscribers both entertainment and edification. The essay had long been a well-established literary form. Bacon's *Essays* had been compact summaries of his thoughts on various subjects; the essays of the sixteenth cen-

tury French writer Montaigne set the model for more familiar, personal, and discursive discussion. Dryden, Sir William Temple, and others had made the essay in English the vehicle for personal comment on books and affairs. Steele declared that the title, The Tatler, was chosen in deference to the fair sex, and he soon devoted the journal to the improvement and refinement of manners, "exposing the false arts of life, pulling off the disguise of cunning, vanity, and affectation, and recommending a general simplicity in our dress, our discourse, and our behavior."

THE

SPECTATOR.

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The Spectator. To Addison is doubtless due in large measure the maintenance of this moral censorship which was carried on in *The Spectator*. Mr. Spectator, a supposedly elderly and philosophic gentleman, offers his comments and criticism on the manners of what was then the new age. The land of Queen Anne lives for us again in these pages, which delighted its beaux and belles. It is a world not very foreign to American readers, for its costumes and manners were reproduced in the colonial cities of New York and Philadelphia. It is indeed, in spite of its lack of modern inventions, a world similar in many respects to our own. Mr. Spectator saw the life of

the city, of the coffee house, the club, the busy street, and he describes the world of leisure, of theatergoing, of card playing, tea drinking, dancing, and dressing. In the eighteenth century the middle class was constantly increasing, and the number of persons who had time for pleasure was much greater than ever before. Women were taking an increasing share in the amusements of society and also in reading books. The *Spectator* and *Tatler* are the first important recognitions by literature of the special interests of women readers. Women to-day, who find Addison's tone toward the fair sex rather patronizing, should remember that it is really an indication of the growing influence of women in fields where men had thought themselves masters. Steele shows more genuine respect for women, and it was his paper in *The Tatler* that offered the finest of compliments when he wrote of Lady Elizabeth Hastings that "to love her is a liberal education." Since that day how much literature has been made primarily for the women, and what a large part of literature has been devoted to picturing and criticizing the manners of society as shown in our great cities!

Sir Roger de Coverley. *The Spectator* and *The Tatler* were by no means limited to the doings of the women. They contained much comment on books, such as Addison's criticism of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which he praised because it conformed to Aristotle's laws for epic poetry; and they contained earnest efforts after reform, as in Steele's attack on the two fashionable evils of gambling and dueling. They also contained the papers which set forth the character and doings of Sir Roger de Coverley. Sir Roger is a country gentleman, of old-fashioned manners, and of what were even then regarded by some as the old-fashioned virtues of simplicity, honesty, and piety. His foibles, which are described with a gentle humor, make a setting for his virtues which point an example to the world of fashion. We come to know him on his estate, in church, wooing his neighbor the widow, or visiting the strange

sights of the city. The essays almost make a novel; at all events they create a character.

Prose Style. *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* brought literature down to everyday life and kept it clean and wholesome. There is no trace of malice in Addison's genial humor, no spitefulness and no coarseness. The many journals which followed *The Spectator* maintained its tone of courtesy and good breeding. Its influence, indeed, extended beyond the essays of the eighteenth century to all the periodical literature which has continued to multiply with such rapidity. Much of this has proved ephemeral, the reading merely for the breakfast table or for an idle hour; but thanks to the elevation of Addison's mind and to the quality of his style, *The Spectator* remains among the permanent possessions of our literature. English prose writers had already done much to create an acceptable prose style, easy to understand yet capable of variety and beauty. Addison's prose remained for over a century the model for most writers, for Goldsmith, Franklin, and Washington Irving among others. Though our vocabulary and syntax have undergone changes and writing for the magazines has had many new fashions, Dr. Johnson's comment on Addison's prose still holds good: "Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison."

Daniel Defoe (1660–1731)

Pope, Swift, Addison, and Steele were all recognized in their own day as ornaments to literature. They wrote for the educated and according to the standards accepted by literary criticism. Daniel Defoe was a hack writer, a member of the Grub Street which Pope ridiculed, a composer of printed matter that even the uneducated could read, the journalist, perhaps the yellow journalist of his time; yet none of his contemporaries is so sure of immortality as the author of *Robinson Crusoe*.

Life and Personality. Defoe was a man of amazing ingenuity and energy, and though a literary jack of all trades he was good at most of them. The multiplicity of his enterprises and writings, and the secrecy which he maintained as to his authorship and his other affairs have made very difficult the disentangling of the facts of his life and literary career. He was the son of a London butcher, a dissenter, and picked up an extensive knowledge of books and men without any assistance from a university. He was soon busy in politics and business, and at thirty, an age when Pope was already famous as a poet, he had managed to go bankrupt for £17,000. It was ten years later that he made his first literary success with *The True Born Englishman*, a satire in rough verse. According to Defoe eighty thousand copies were sold in the London streets, and the poem won him the favor of King William. Defoe was now launched on his life-long career of pamphlet writer, and he produced an incredible quantity of writing on all sorts of subjects. In 1702, his pamphlet, *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, pretended to express the views of the extreme high-church party and urged the extirpation of all dissenters. The authorities did not like Defoe's irony and prosecuted him for libel on the church. He was sentenced to stand three days in the pillory, pay a fine, and to be imprisoned. Defoe was made a popular hero, the pillory was covered with flowers, and the crowd drank his health and bought many copies of his *Hymn to the Pillory*.

Journalism. As soon as he was out of prison Defoe started *The Review*, which, first as a weekly and finally as a tri-weekly, continued from 1704 to 1713. *The Review* contained an imaginary "Scandal Club" which doubtless gave suggestions for Steele's *Tatler*, and it was of the greatest importance in the history of journalism as a pioneer in the publication of news and in the free expression of opinion. During the eighteenth century the press of England was distinguished from that of the Continent by its free and full discussion of political and social

questions. Defoe initiated the editorial and special article and led the way in which he was followed by Swift, Steele, and others in the public discussion of public affairs.

Politics. Unfortunately Defoe's services to the public were not single minded. He usually wrote anonymously and he sold his wares to either side. Indeed he often wrote on every side of a subject, and he carried on for years a Tory journal on the understanding with the Whig government that the "style should continue Tory," but that "he would take the sting out of it." He seems to have been open either as a secret political agent or as a mercenary journalist to employment by both parties, and he also found time for various business projects. In this varied employment he was perfecting his skill in what one of his contemporary assailants described as his art "of forging a story and imposing it upon the world as truth."

Fiction. This art, already shown in minor narratives, enabled him to transform the account of Alexander Selkirk's solitary residence on the island of Juan Fernandez into *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), which gained an immediate and world-wide popularity. Defoe was already finding political writing less profitable and he now turned to prose fiction. Among the novels that followed in the next few years were *Captain Singleton*, *Moll Flanders*, *Roxana*, and *Colonel Jack*. Their detailed, realistic, even sordid accounts of the lives and adventures of rogues and rascals have a greater verisimilitude than any preceding fiction of this class, and they point the way to the thorough-going study of life which the novel was to exhibit later in the century. One of the most wonderful of all his books, *The Journal of the Plague Year* describes the plague of 1666 with such an air of truth that its fiction has often been taken for fact.

Defoe's amazingly industrious though crooked career is of importance in the history of literature in three ways. First, it marks the extension of periodicals and pamphlets, and consequently the spread of literature to meet an ever widening public.

Second, his series of novels, even excluding *Robinson Crusoe,* are a great advance in the development of prose fiction. Third, he was the author of *Robinson Crusoe,* one of the world's best-loved books.

Robinson Crusoe. *Robinson Crusoe* has for its theme a subject of proverbial interest — What would I do if cast upon a desert island? Only a man with Defoe's varied experience and immense ingenuity could have answered the question so fully and satisfactorily. Earlier in this book we have recalled Shakespeare's treatment of a similar theme in *The Tempest.* His invention created strange inhabitants and made his island the home of wonder and enchantment. Defoe's invention took an entirely different course; it dealt with practical and everyday affairs: he imagined how one could get along, build a house, find food, keep track of time; yet his invention is not without fine dramatic power. The famous passage in which the lonely Crusoe comes to the human footsteps on the sand is among the great inventions of fiction; and the man Friday is in his way no less wonderful a creation than Shakespeare's Ariel. *Robinson Crusoe* is a book for boys, old or young, and perhaps the best of all stories of adventure. We have seen how several books

Illustration to "Robinson Crusoe"

designed for mature readers have come finally into the possession of youth — Froissart, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Gulliver's Travels;* and ever since the time of Defoe there have been multitudes of books written primarily for boys and girls; but no one before or since has been able to surpass *Robinson Crusoe* in the affections of its readers. Even boys of our generation with its absorbing interests in electricity, automobiles, airplanes, and other marvels of reality, still find the island of Crusoe marvelous, real, and delightful, a masterpiece of human invention.

Minor Writers

Poets. The writers already treated in this chapter are the most eminent and the most representative of their period. Their writings cover every field of literature which was then cultivated to advantage. A word or two must, however, be added as to other writers in the fields of poetry and drama. Matthew Prior, at one time ambassador to France and author of several long poems, is remembered for his lighter verse, whose grace and wit has excited the emulation of many poets. John Gay, another friend of Pope and Swift, won fame by his *Beggars' Opera*, which utilized English airs and celebrated the adventures of a highwayman. James Thomson wrote much which can be classified as of the school of Pope, but his best-known works manifest different tendencies. His *Seasons* celebrate in blank verse the beauties of nature with a sympathetic observation rarely suggested in the age which preferred city and society to woods and fields. His *Castle of Indolence* (1748), published in the year of his death and written in the Spenserian stanza, offers full testimony of the admiration which even in the age of Pope English readers had maintained for Spenser's enchantment.

Dramatists. In the drama there was little of importance as literature, though most of the men of letters tried their hands at play making. The drama was far more decent, more

moral, and more sentimental than in the days of Dryden, but it had ceased to be a genuinely popular form of literature.

Summary. In the last two chapters dealing with the ages of Dryden and Pope, we have seen literature turning to ways quite different from those which it had followed in the time of Elizabeth. But we must remember that the new literature was added to but did not supplant the old. Shakespeare continued to hold the stage, and new editions multiplied the readers of his plays. Milton and Spenser had admirers and imitators among the readers of Dryden and Pope. Meantime the reading public was constantly growing in numbers, and the interests with which literature concerned itself were increasing. Swift and Steele and Defoe carried literature into the field of political discussion, Addison and Steele carried it into the field of social manners. All four aided in making prose a ready and adaptable means of expression, and thus brought printed books and periodicals to a far wider range of readers than they had ever reached before. This prose also became the medium for two masterpieces of invention, *Gulliver's Travels* and *Robinson Crusoe.*

Guides to Study

Reading. Pope: Rape of the Lock, Epistle to Arbuthnot. Swift: Gulliver's Travels, Voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag. Addison and Steele: Sir Roger de Coverley Papers and selected essays from The Spectator. Defoe: Robinson Crusoe.

Thackeray's Henry Esmond gives a wonderful picture of the age of Queen Anne, and introduces Addison, Steele, Swift, Marlborough, and other historical persons. Scott's Waverley gives a picture of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, and both Rob Roy and The Heart of Midlothian are laid in this period. Thackeray's English Humorists gives an account of some of the chief writers treated in this and the following chapter. Dr. Johnson's Essay on Pope, Macaulay's Essay on Addison are important critical and biographical discussions. Selections from Gay, Prior, Chatterton, Thomson are found in the collections.

Questions. Name the rulers of England during the age of Pope. Explain the succession of the Hanover dynasty. Explain the "two-

party system," Whigs and Tories. Who was the Duke of Marlborough? Why was there war between England and France? Why was England admired on the Continent? What was thought of Shakespeare in France? How does the literature of the age of Pope differ from literature to-day? What are its chief characteristics? What connection existed between literature and politics? In what ways is the literature of this period more modern than that of any preceding period?

What is there to admire in Pope's character? Quote a couplet from the Essay on Criticism which expresses the neo-classical theory of literary art. What do you think Pope means by "true wit"? What is the subject of The Rape of the Lock? Why is it called a mock-heroic poem? What poem brought Pope a large sum of money? What passages in this poem do you remember? What was the subject of the Dunciad? Who was its first hero? Why did he receive this honor? What poem was the result of the friendship between Pope and Bolingbroke? What great writer was satirized in the Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot? Which line in this passage do you think the best? Was Pope a true poet?

With what two books did Swift begin his literary career? What were their themes? With which political party did Swift become identified? Who was Stella? What is Gulliver's Travels about? What does it satirize? Explain the meaning of irony. Give examples of Swift's use of irony. What do we mean when we call Swift a pessimist?

What poem opened a political career for Addison? What was its occasion? To what political party did he belong? What tragedy did he write? Do you recall any allusion to this in Pope's satirical portrait of Addison? Of what hymn is Addison the author? What writer was Addison's schoolfellow? On what two periodicals were they associated? What was the purpose of The Tatler? In what way was the journal made interesting to the fair sex? What compliment did Steele pay to a lady? Tell something of Sir Roger de Coverley; of the London of Addison's time; of the world of fashion. What qualities has Addison's prose? What later writers took his style as a model?

Give an account of Defoe's life. Why was his Review important? What can you say of his political principles? of his journalistic cleverness? What especial power did he have as a writer of fiction? In what three ways is his career of importance in the history of literature? What parts of Robinson Crusoe do you like best? Why is it a masterpiece of invention?

Who were some of the minor poets of this period? In this period, which of the following kinds of poetry flourished most: epic, satiric, dramatic, lyric, or didactic? Is the age of Pope famous rather for its poetry or for its prose? What prose satires were written? what prose

narratives? State some ways in which the literature of this age was different from that of the Elizabethan period. With what new interests was literature concerned?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. In a London Coffee House. An Interview with Mr. Pope on the Subject of Poetry. A Brief Mock-heroic Poem on Some Recent Happening. Was Pope a True Poet? The Famous Dean Swift. An Imitation of a Spectator Paper. English Country Life in the Time of Sir Roger de Coverley. Sir Roger Visits New York. The Freedom of the Press. Robinson Crusoe Sees an Aëroplane. Is Satire Good Material for Poetry?

Chronological Table, 1700–1744

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1701. Defoe, *True-born Englishman.*		
1702. *Daily Courant*, first daily paper.		
1703. Defoe, *Hymn to Pillory.*		1703. Queen Anne.
1704. Addison, *The Campaign.* Defoe, *Review.* Swift, *Battle of Books*, *Tale of a Tub.*		1704. Battle of Blenheim.
1707. Prior, *Poems.*		
1709. *The Tatler.*		
1710. Fall of the Whigs. Hartley and Bolingbroke in power.		
1711. Pope, *Essay on Criticism.* *The Spectator.* Swift, *Conduct of the Allies.*		
1712. Pope, *The Rape of the Lock.*	1712. Rousseau born.	1713. Treaty of Utrecht.
1714. Rowe, *Jane Shore.*		1714. George I.
1715. Pope, *Trans. of Iliad* (vol. I).		1715. Louis XV, King of France.
1719. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, Part I. Isaac Watts, *Songs and Hymns.* Addison died.		
		1720. South Sea Bubble.
		1721. Walpole, Prime Minister (until 1742).
1724. Swift, *Drapier's Letters.*	1724. LeSage, *Gil Blas.* Voltaire, *Henriade.*	
1725. Pope, Edition of Shakespeare.	Kant born.	1725. Death of Peter the Great.
1726. Swift, *Gulliver's Travels.* Thomson, *Winter.*		
1727. Gay, *Fables.*		1727. George II. Sir Isaac Newton died.
1728. Gay, *Beggars' Opera.* Pope, *Dunciad.*		
1729. Congreve and Steele died. Burke born.	1729. Lessing born.	1730. The Methodist Society at Oxford.
1731. Lillo, *George Barnwell.*		
	1732. Franklin, *Poor Richard's Almanac.*	
1733. Pope, *Essay on Man.* Theobald, Edition of Shakespeare.	1733. Voltaire, *Zaire.*	
1735. Pope, *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot.*		
1738. Johnson, *London.* Wesley, *Psalms and Hymns.*		
1739. Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature.*		
1740. Cibber, *Apology.* Richardson, *Pamela.*		1740. Frederick the Great, King of Prussia.
1741. Fielding, *Joseph Andrews.*		
		1742. Walpole retires as prime minister.
1744. Pope died.		
1745. Swift died.		1745. Jacobite Rebellion.

CHAPTER XI

THE AGE OF JOHNSON, 1744–1784

Introduction. Historical Events. Rousseau. The Wesley Revival. Aspects of Literature.

The Rise of the Novel. History of Fiction. Samuel Richardson. His Innovations. His Sentimentalism. Henry Fielding. His Morality. Minor Novelists.

Dr. Johnson and His Circle. His Dictatorship. His Life. The *Dictionary*. Letter to Chesterfield. His Criticism. The Club. Boswell's *Johnson*. Oliver Goldsmith. What He Gave to Literature. Edmund Burke. His Political Philosophy. Oratory and Literature. Other Prose Writings.

The Departure from Neo-classicism. Interest in the Middle Ages. Thomas Gray. His Poems. Ossian. Chatterton. *The Castle of Otranto*. Percy's *Reliques*. Gothicism.

Conclusion.

Historical Events. The age of Johnson saw the defeat of France and the enlargement of the British Empire in America and India. Under the leadership of the elder Pitt, England had taken a foremost part in making the history of the world. But George III, who came to the throne in 1760, unlike his predecessors, attempted an active part in the government and by distribution of offices managed to control Parliament. Pitt's plans for the further extension of the empire were blocked by the revolt of the American colonies which contended for the very principles of political liberty that were being threatened in England by the king and his Tory ministers. On the Continent also there was much discussion of ideas of freedom, but everywhere absolute monarchs held sway. Prussia had become a formidable power under Frederick the Great, but its peasants were still serfs; in France the monarchy went its old course without regard for the gathering revolution.

Rousseau. It was not only in the affairs of government that the demands for change were being felt. The " age of enlightenment " in France grew more and more receptive to radical ideas in social, educational, and economic fields. In the sixties three books by Jean Jacques Rousseau set forth ideas which if realized would overturn society. One, the *Contrat Social,* carried on the theory of Hobbes and Locke for the constitution of society to the conclusion that all government must rest on the consent of the governed. His other two books, *La Nouvelle Heloïse* and *Émile* were novels, urging the value of the natural instincts and emotions. Man, he declared, is born naturally good, not depraved. Evil is the product of government, of institutions and laws, of church and state. Let us return to a state of nature, and virtue will have a new birth. Every one read Rousseau, though the government proscribed his books; and his theories soon began to affect education, literature, and politics. Even the French queen, Marie Antoinette, played with her court ladies at the simple life; and Rousseau's appeal for the freedom of the individual from the restraints of society found a welcome throughout a world wearied of being governed and oppressed.

The Wesley Revival. In England the appeal to the emotions for guidance was manifest first in religious revival rather than in social theory. The Church of England, with clergymen like Swift or Sterne, had ceased to minister to the spiritual life and had lost its hold on the working classes. The preaching of Wesley and Whitfield with its insistence on the religious experience of the individual carried its message to the cottage and hovel. Gradually this religious quickening spread throughout the nation, and helped to arouse men's sympathy for their suffering fellows and their faith in the life of the spirit.

Aspects of Literature. The literature of the age of Johnson may be considered under three heads: (1) the growth of the novel into great importance as a form of literature; (2) the continuance under the leadership of Dr. Johnson of the main

forms and practices of literature much as in the age of Pope; and (3) the beginning of various tendencies quite opposed to neo-classicism and pointing toward the romantic movement.

The Rise of the Novel

History of Fiction. Story-telling has formed a large element of literature from time immemorial. One of the earliest monuments of the English language is the epic that tells the story of Beowulf. Romances in verse and prose were one of the most characteristic products of medieval literature. The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes, perhaps the greatest of all novels; and by the close of that century fiction was flourishing in various forms, long romances of love and honor, picaresque stories of rogues and their rascalities, short novels of domestic life. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the novels of Defoe met the increasing demand for realistic fiction, and his *Robinson Crusoe* went into every home. Toward the middle of the century the novel took on a new popularity from the genius of Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding.

Richardson. Samuel Richardson (1689–1761) was an estimable London printer with some taste in literature. He formed the plan of a volume of letters supposedly written by a girl at service, which should serve as a sort of model for both morals and letter writing to other servant girls. The result was the novel *Pamela,* which through a series of letters tells in great detail of the trials and tribulations of a very sentimental and virtuous heroine. Its success was immediate; women especially were interested, and Richardson found himself the object of the adulations of an ever widening circle of women admirers. His second novel, also in the form of letters, goes far beyond *Pamela* in this analysis of the sentiments. *Clarissa Harlowe or the History of a Young Lady* tells of a beautiful and virtuous heroine who is wronged by a villain, the libertine Lovelace;

and it treats her emotions with such thoroughness that it occupies a thousand pages. Its effect was enormous. Every one read and wept over Clarissa and wondered at the genius which could so completely reveal the female heart.

Richardson's Innovations. Richardson had indeed accomplished two things of great moment to literature. First, he had discovered that the novel offers a chance for analysis and interpretation of emotion. In the drama only the speeches of the actors are given, and the whole must not occupy more than three hours in presentation. In a novel, every action, every emotion, can be described, interpreted, and moralized upon. All the inner thoughts can be analyzed and made clear to the reader. There is no limit on length except the perseverance of the author and the patience of the reader. *Clarissa Harlowe* is the first great novel to employ to the full the opportunity for analysis and interpretation of character. Second, Richardson discovered that while the reading public was supposed to desire the rational and classical, what it really wanted was the sentimental. Sentiment had played a considerable part in the drama, but the long novel gave a more extended opportunity to appeal to the reader's sympathy.

His Sentimentalism. There is no denying the genius which went into *Clarissa Harlowe*. The book is long, tedious, and to-day its sentiment and morals are both old-fashioned and unconvincing. Yet any one who reads the book through will feel the cumulative power with which our sympathies are attached to every sentiment of the unhappy Clarissa. For its own age the book was a revelation. It swept over Europe, and every sensitive reader felt its power. Common sense, reason, authority, law, and order all seemed feeble things in comparison with the power of human sentiment to influence action. To weep, to sympathize, to sentimentalize over life became a sort of religion. Rousseau wept over Clarissa and began to formulate his creed that the salvation of the world lay in trusting the natural human emotions.

Many of Richardson's female admirers begged that he would draw a perfect man to offset the villain Lovelace. Richardson responded with *Sir Charles Grandison,* which tells the story of a moral prig who is an expert analyzer of his own emotions. These three books made clear the pathway for the host of novels in all languages that have since then exaggerated and exploited

Richardson Reading the MS. of "Sir Charles Grandison" to His Friends

the sentimental side of life to the tearful delight of millions of readers.

Fielding. Richardson's success excited not only imitation but opposition. Henry Fielding was a playwright who had written many mediocre farces and one clever burlesque, *Tom Thumb,* when *Pamela* appeared and excited his wrathful amusement. Its morality and sentiment both seemed to him mawkish, and he started to write a burlesque in which the brother of Pamela, Joseph Andrews, a youth at service, should be exposed to temptations and anxieties paralleling

those of his famous sister. Fielding, however, had not proceeded far in his burlesque before he found himself seriously interested in the characters he was creating. *Joseph Andrews* is redeemed from being merely farcical by the character of Parson Adams, a simple minded and lovable old clergyman. The refinements and subtleties which aroused the admiration of Richardson's women readers seemed to Fielding faint and distorted reflections of life; and he undertook to get plenty of red blood, rough and tumble activity, and boisterous spirits into his fiction. "Low and coarse" were the epithets which the Richardsonian ladies applied to Fielding's fiction, and the adjectives do indeed apply to much in his masterpiece, *Tom Jones*. Tom Jones is a foundling who journeys through life with many ups and downs, encountering much that is coarse and low, but in the main choosing the manly and straightforward alternatives, and avoiding hypocrisy. Coleridge declared it one of the three best plots in the world; and working in general on the model of the epic, which recounts the life and deeds of a hero, Fielding built up into a coherent and well-planned structure the narrative of the dramatic progress of a healthy young fellow of the eighteenth century. Fielding's two other novels are *Jonathan Wild*, a satirical story of a rascal, and *Amelia* (1751), written when he was failing in health but telling with a ripened and restrained art the story of a faithful wife brought to suffering and distress by a scapegrace husband.

His Morality. Fielding had no sympathy with the kind of sentimentality that Richardson was making so popular. But really he too was a moralist and an emotionalist in his own way. He trusts the natural emotions and values highly the sentiments as guides to conduct; it is against affectation, pretense, and hypocrisy that he appeals for sincerity and naturalness. *Tom Jones* scarcely less than *Clarissa Harlowe* was an indication that the world, and literature with it, was asking for fewer restrictions by society or authority on the natural emotional life of the individual. But Fielding's attitude is funda-

mentally that of the humorist, and here he is in marked contrast with his solemn rival. Fielding belongs to the class of great story-tellers, including Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Cervantes, who find life full of incongruities and absurdities, a spectacle calling for both tears and laughter. He is the first of a long series of English novelists, including Thackeray and Meredith, who have been intent to picture faithfully the realities of life, but from its medley of pathos and comedy have found moral guide and inspiration.

Minor Novelists. Among the many novelists who followed in the wake of Richardson and Fielding, Sterne and Smollett were the most notable. Laurence Sterne was a disciple of the Richardsonian sensibility, but in place of his master's moralizing Sterne substituted his own lively and naughty wit, which caused Richardson to disown his disciple in horror. *Tristram Shandy* is a very long book, the publication of which extended from 1759 to 1767. It tells of Uncle Toby, a veteran, who spends his days playing at mimic war with his servant Corporal Trim, and who is the object of the strategy of Widow Wadman. There is no story, little action, but much sentiment, and still more of the peculiar humor known as "Shandyism." Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* is a Shandyesque version of the author's adventures in France. Quite different from this smirking parson was Tobias Smollett, doctor, seaman, and writer of many books and of several novels, among them, *Peregrine Pickle*, *Roderick Random*, and *Humphrey Clinker*. He is a humorist and realist like Fielding, but he imitates the master's coarseness and liveliness of manners rather than his moral generalizations. Yet for a picture of life of the average citizen in the eighteenth century, one will find the pages of Smollett surpassed only by the drawings of Hogarth.

There were many other novelists, some of whom will be noticed later in this chapter. One natural development after Richardson was the story dealing still more exclusively than had his with woman's world. Fannie Burney (Madame

From Hogarth's "A Conversation Piece"

D'Arblay) in *Evelina* tells of a young girl just coming out in society and prepares the way for the later work of Jane Austen. The number of novels increased rapidly, and prose fiction was soon employed for all sorts of purposes, educational, revolutionary, religious, or what not. The novel was firmly established as the most popular form of literature.

Dr. Johnson and His Circle

Johnson's Dictatorship. Addison, Dryden, and Ben Jonson had each been the head of a group of writers to whom his criticism was law. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) was their successor and came nearer to being a dictator than any one before or since in the English republic of letters. He was a Tory in politics, a devout churchman in religion, and a classicist in literature. But he was no slave to creed or theory, though he liked to air his prejudices. He saw that the three unities might be an absurd limitation to the drama and he admired Shakespeare, though he wished that the moral lessons of the plays had been made more distinct. He enjoyed the poetry of Dryden and Pope and he did not enjoy *Lycidas* or Gray's Odes. He was quick to recognize merit in literature so long as it kept on good terms with morality and common sense, but he was intolerant of radicals, medievalists, and atheists. With his character and judgment fixed in the old grooves, he lived on into a time when revolutionary changes were beginning to be felt in literature as well as elsewhere. But though he lends his name to an age of transition, he remained a sterling exponent of literature guided by the classics, reason, and morality.

His Life. Johnson was the son of a poor bookseller in the cathedral city of Lichfield. He was compelled to leave Oxford without a degree because of poverty, and after some experience in teaching, tramped up to London with a manuscript tragedy in his pocket and for his companion his pupil David Garrick, destined to become the greatest actor of his time. In London

Johnson toiled as a hack writer, gaining a little notice by his two poems *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, and earning a precarious living by doing all sorts of work for the booksellers. Two series of periodical essays of the Spectator type, *The Rambler* and *The Idler*, increased his reputation; but at fifty he was still so poor that in order to defray the expenses of his mother's funeral he wrote in the evenings of a single week his moral novel *Rasselas*.

The Dictionary. Meantime he had carried through to completion after years of toil, unaided by patronage, his famous *Dictionary* (1755). Some of the definitions are often quoted as illustrating Johnson's humorous expression of his prejudices; as, "*oats*, a grain given in England to horses and in Scotland to the people," or "*pension*, an allowance made to any one without equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country." Other definitions illustrate his fondness for long words; as "*network*, anything reticulated or decussated at equal distances with interstices between the intersections." But the dictionary as a whole was a great work of scholarship, marking an epoch in the study of our language. It may also be said to mark the end of literature's reliance on patronage for support. Johnson had addressed in 1747 his plan for the dictionary to Lord Chesterfield, a distinguished nobleman, patron of letters and model of fashion; but the great man had offered no aid or encouragement until in 1754 he wrote two papers in *The World* praising the book and no doubt expecting a dedication. Johnson's letter repelling Chesterfield's advances must be quoted in full, for it is at once an epitome of Johnson's character and a declaration of independence dear to every lover of literature.

Letter to Chesterfield.

To the Right Honourable The Earl of Chesterfield.

February 7, 1755.

My Lord,

I have been lately informed, by the proprietor of the World that two papers, in which my Dictionary is recommended to the publick, were written

by your Lordship. To be so distinguished, is an honour, which, being very little accustomed to favours from the great, I know not well how to receive, or in what terms to acknowledge.

When, upon some slight encouragement, I first visited your Lordship, I was overpowered, like the rest of mankind, by the enchantment of your address; and could not forbear to wish that I might boast myself Le vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre; — that I might obtain that regard for which I saw the world contending; but I found my attendance so little encouraged, that neither pride nor modesty would suffer me to continue it. When I had once addressed your Lordship in publick, I had exhausted all the art of pleasing which a retired and uncourtly scholar can possess. I had done all that I could; and no man is well pleased to have his all neglected, be it ever so little.

Seven years, my Lord, have now past, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties, of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it, at last, to the verge of publication, without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a Patron before.

The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with Love, and found him a native of the rocks.

Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed until I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the Publick should consider me as owing that to a Patron which Providence has enabled me to do for myself.

Having carried on my work thus far with so little obligation to any favourer of learning, I shall not be disappointed though I should conclude it, if less be possible, with less; for I have been long wakened from that dream of hope, in which I once boasted myself with so much exultation,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most humble,
Most obedient servant,
Sam. Johnson.

His Criticism. In 1762 Johnson received a pension of £300 annually in recognition of his services on the *Dictionary* and henceforth he was free from want. He could afford to laugh at

his definition of "pension" which he let stand in later editions. His arduous labors left him indolent, and during the rest of his life he carried through only two large works. His edition of Shakespeare is still valuable for the good sense of his notes and the preface. The *Lives of the English Poets* show a restriction of his earlier fondness for many-syllabled words and are admirable in style as biographies and criticisms, within the limits of Johnson's perception. It should be noted that his criticism, like Dryden's and Addison's, was what is known as "judicial" or "dogmatic," not "appreciative." The critic sat as a judge and gave his verdicts upon authors according to his understanding of the law and precedents. The law was the rules of neo-classicism, the precedents, the examples of the ancients, but Johnson usually interpreted both with rare good sense. The *Lives of the Poets* pass judgment on a century of English poetry.

Dr. Johnson Dressed for the Journey to the Hebrides

The Club. The last thirty years of Johnson's life were spent largely in talk. He had early made it a rule to talk his best, and he declared late in life that he counted a day lost in which he did not make a new acquaintance. On one famous occasion he was even lured by Boswell into dining with Wilkes, the atheist and radical. He was soon famous for his conversational powers, and gathered about him a group of the most interesting men and best talkers of the time. The Club, organized in 1763, included in its membership Sir Joshua Reynolds, the painter, Garrick the actor, Malone the Shakespearian

scholar, Bishop Percy the collector of ballads, Adam Smith the political economist, Boswell, Fox, Burke, and Gibbon. Brilliant as was this company, Johnson outshone them all. Or, if he couldn't outshine them he would out-roar them, for the "great cham of literature" did not brook opposition. However, if he was often rude, he was quick to repent, and he held until death the affection of all his friends.

James Boswell

Boswell's Life of Johnson. The man Johnson is known to us through Boswell's *Life*. This is the best of biographies, partly because Johnson was such an interesting subject and talked so much, and partly because Boswell lived as much as possible with his hero and recorded everything he heard Johnson say. Here is the beginning of his account of his first visit to Johnson's rooms. The passage is followed by a minute of the Doctor's conversation.

He received me very courteously: but, it must be confessed, that his apartment, and furniture, and morning dress, were sufficiently uncouth. His brown suit of clothes looked very rusty; he had only a little old shriveled unpowdered wig, which was too small for his head; his shirt-neck and knees of his breeches were loose; his black worsted stockings ill drawn up; and he had a pair of unbuckled shoes by way of slippers. But all these slovenly peculiarities were forgotten the moment that he began to talk. Some gentlemen, whom I do not recollect, were sitting with him; and when they went away, I also rose; but he said to me, "Nay, don't go." — "Sir (said I), I am afraid that I intrude upon you. It is benevolent to allow me to sit and hear you." He seemed pleased with this compliment, which I sincerely paid him, and answered, "Sir, I am obliged to any man who visits me."

Boswell often made himself ridiculous through his curiosity and vanity, and suffered many a rebuff from the doctor, but he recorded these with all possible cheerfulness. As we read on in his delightful book we come to admire the author both for his devotion to Johnson and for the great zest with which he took life. His book is indeed more than a biography, it is a transcript of life — of men, women, conversation, character, manners, and wisdom, such as no novel ever assembled. As for Dr. Johnson himself, rude, bearish but tender-hearted, pompous but simple, narrow but generous, Macaulay's judgment is as true as when written in 1856: "The old philosopher is still among us in the brown coat with the metal buttons, and the shirt which ought to be at wash, blinking, puffing, rolling his head, drumming with his fingers, tearing his meat like a tiger, and swallowing his tea in oceans. No human being who has been more than seventy years in the grave is so well known to us. And it is but just to say that our intimate acquaintance with what he would himself have called the anfractuosities of his intellect and his temper, serves only to strengthen our conviction that he was both a great and a good man."

Oliver Goldsmith. Of Johnson's circle the most representative man of letters was Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774), who won distinction as essayist, novelist, poet, and dramatist. Born in Ireland, he was a happy-go-lucky boy, the friend of every one except himself, who could shiver in the straw in order to give his blanket to a destitute beggar, but who was as poor at a bargain as Moses in the *Vicar of Wakefield*. After graduating from Trinity College, Dublin, he wandered somewhat aimlessly about Europe studying medicine, a profession for which he does not appear to have had the least fitness. At thirty he was in London, very poor, and working as a hack writer for the booksellers and reviews, and writing among other things some of the first children's books. In 1762 his essays in *The Citizen of the World* attracted attention among literary men; two years later appeared *The Traveller*, a poem based on his own wander-

ing experiences; two years later still, Dr. Johnson saved him from the rage of his landlady by selling for him the manuscript of *The Vicar of Wakefield*. In 1770 appeared his best-known poem, *The Deserted Village*, and in 1773 his comedy, *She Stoops to Conquer*, had a great success on the stage.

Goldsmith was one of the original members of "The Club," and he is one of the chief figures in Boswell's *Life*. He never lost his irresponsible boyishness. He was always ready to give his last cent to a beggar and to go in debt to his tailor for a very gayly colored coat. In practical matters he was as helpless as a child, but he earned and kept his independence as sturdily as did Dr. Johnson himself. He was sometimes the butt of the jokes of his fellow club members, and Garrick laughed at Noll —

> Who wrote like an angel but talked like poor-Poll.

Goldsmith did indeed make some Irish bulls but he said many witty things, as when he declared that if Johnson undertook to write about little fishes, he would make them talk like whales. And he paid back Garrick and his fellow club members in the witty but good-natured verses called *Retaliation*.

What He Gave to Literature. As an essayist Goldsmith is among the best of the century. As a poet he makes the riming couplets as natural and simple as his prose. There are few descriptive and reflective poems in our language that have kept their freshness as has *The Deserted Village*. His one novel has become one of the world's books and is read in all languages. It is an idyllic story of the family of a clergyman after they have lost their money and are living in poverty. It sentimentalizes life without the excess of Rousseau and Sterne, and it makes us feel its lessons without preaching. Goldsmith's two comedies, *The Good-natured Man* and *She Stoops to Conquer* met with opposition because the fashion was then for sentimental comedy. Goldsmith's success marked a return to the comedy of manners, with wit and fun as essential ingredients. A few

GOLDSMITH

years later Sheridan's *Rivals* and *School for Scandal* were brilliant successes of the same type, that of the comedy of Molière or of Congreve with the grossness omitted. The two plays by Sheridan and *She Stoops to Conquer* are the only plays of the eighteenth century that have kept alive upon our modern stage. Curiously, though there were many sentimental comedies, none had enduring merit. Sentimentality succeeded better in prose fiction.

Edmund Burke. Another of the original members of the Club and a close friend of Johnson was Edmund Burke (1729–1797), orator, statesman, and author, one of the great leaders of the nation. Like Swift, Steele, Goldsmith, and Sheridan, Burke was born in Ireland, and published his first book in 1756, an *Inquiry Concerning the Sublime and the Beautiful.* He was soon engaged in politics and from 1766 on was an active member of the Whig party in Parliament. Burke's political activities, speeches, and writings may be grouped about three main subjects, (1) the American Revolution, (2) Warren Hastings, and (3) the French Revolution. Whatever the immediate occasion, Burke always spoke and wrote with his mind on fundamental problems. The *Speech on Conciliation with America* speaks not merely for the American Colonies but in behalf of the causes of civil freedom and self-government. No American boy or girl can find these speeches remote in interest if he reflects on what enormous sacrifices of life the world has paid and is ready to pay to secure these liberties. Burke, ever the friend of freedom, bent all his energy and eloquence against British oppression whether in America or in India, and led in the impeachment of the great viceroy, Warren Hastings. But the French Revolution was for him another story. His brilliant poetic imagination saw in this struggle ruin for what was old, beautiful, and noble.

It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles; and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her

just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in,— glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendor, and joy. Oh! what a revolution! and what a heart must I have to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream when she added titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom; little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honor, and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever. Never, never more shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone! It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honor, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness.

His Political Philosophy. Burke's attitude toward the French Revolution caused a break with his lifelong political friends; and his *Reflections upon the Revolution in France* and *Letters on a Regicide Peace* placed him among the most rabid defenders of the old order. But there was a fundamental consistency in all his thinking. Burke conceived human institutions, such as government, church, law, and society, not as fixed and static, but as growing and changing. Growth, however, could come only by gradual change, by maintaining what had been secured through the ages and by adding or altering as wisdom and justice indicated. He was therefore ardent to improve the British Constitution, to preserve and increase civil liberty, and to avoid basing the expanding empire on outrage and oppression; but his mind was horrified when the French Revolution proposed to destroy ruthlessly the old organization of society and rebuild things anew. Burke's

views were different from those of either the reactionaries or the radicals of his own time, but they have exercised a powerful influence on political thought and action in both England and the United States during the last century.

Oratory and Literature. Burke's career recalls the great part played in English literature by political writers and by orators. Earlier in the century Bolingbroke, like Burke, had been famous both as a writer and orator, and we have noted the increasing interest taken in political discussion. Oratory among the Greeks had been considered one great branch of literature, and with the development of parliamentary government, oratory took on an importance in England and the United States such as it had scarcely exercised since the times of Demosthenes and Cicero. Public addresses, state papers, speeches in Parliament or Congress make up a most important part of the literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the face of great national crises the voice of the people usually finds its expression in the eloquence and imagination of its orators. In weight of thought and nobility of emotion Burke's prose far surpasses that of any English-speaking orator except the few great addresses of Lincoln.

Other Prose Writers. Other fields of literature were represented in the Club. In 1776 appeared the first volume of Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and the remaining volumes followed within the next twelve years. This study of a momentous period in the history of civilization may be regarded as the first great modern historical work, and it still remains one of the foremost. In 1776, also, Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* created the science of political economy, of which we shall hear a good deal later on. This year also saw the death of a man whom Johnson abominated, the skeptical philosopher, David Hume, who was also an historian and a political economist. These are only the outstanding names among a host of scholars, theologians, and critics who were extending the domain of literature so that it covered every field of thought.

The Departure from Neo-classicism

Interest in the Middle Ages. We have noted some signs in literature of a preference for the sentimental over the rational. There were also indications of a revolt from the rule of the classics. For Dryden, Pope, and Johnson, the term Gothic, applied vaguely to the Middle Ages, was synonymous with barbarism. Culture was supposed to have slept from the time of the Roman Empire to the Italian Renaissance; and, in a country filled with buildings, manuscripts, customs, and countless other reminders of the Middle Ages, no one thought of turning to medieval cathedrals or poems for guidance in art. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, many men were showing an awakened interest in the past, and before long Gothic became a term of admiration rather than reproach. It is necessary to look outside of Johnson's circle to find the indications of this departure from neo-classicism which held promise of important innovations in literature. Some signs of them can be found in the poet Thomas Gray (1716–1771) who, though a classicist, was receptive to many of the new impulses that were stirring the imagination.

Stoke Pogis Church, Showing the Tomb of Gray

Thomas Gray. As a youth touring Europe with his friend Horace Walpole, Gray expressed his awe and delight at the sublime beauty of the Alps, and his love of natural scenery con-

tinued through his life, and is often reflected in his letters and poems. He passed his life as a scholarly recluse at Cambridge and became perhaps the most learned man in Europe and also one of the best letter writers in an age when letter writing was a fine art. His scholarship was primarily centered in the classics but it was too broad to overlook the many interests of the medieval world. He was one of the few Englishmen of his day to read Dante, and he became an eager student of Old Norse poetry.

His Poems. Gray wrote very few poems but all of admirable quality. His *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* may be viewed as one of the great triumphs of classicist poetry, for it follows an approved classical form, the elegy, and it fulfills perfectly Pope's dictum, "What oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed." At the same time the *Elegy* shows a certain departure from Pope, for it is the finest example of a considerable number of "graveyard" poems which, following Milton's *Il Penseroso,* take a melancholy view of life. Edward Young, author of tragedies and many other poems, owes his fame chiefly to his *Night Thoughts,* a long blank verse poem that discourses eloquently on life, death, and immortality. Gray's beautiful *Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard* may be connected with the odes of William Collins, which display a lyric beauty scarcely inferior to Gray's. One exquisite ode by Collins is almost as well remembered as the *Elegy.*

How sleep the brave who sink to rest,
By all their country's wishes blessed!
When spring with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mold,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung;
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell, a weeping hermit, there!

Gray's northern poems, *The Fatal Sisters* and *The Descent of Odin*, reflect the romantic subjects and manner of Old Norse poetry, and both from their subject matter and their date may be connected with a group of publications which in the early sixties heralded the Gothic revival.

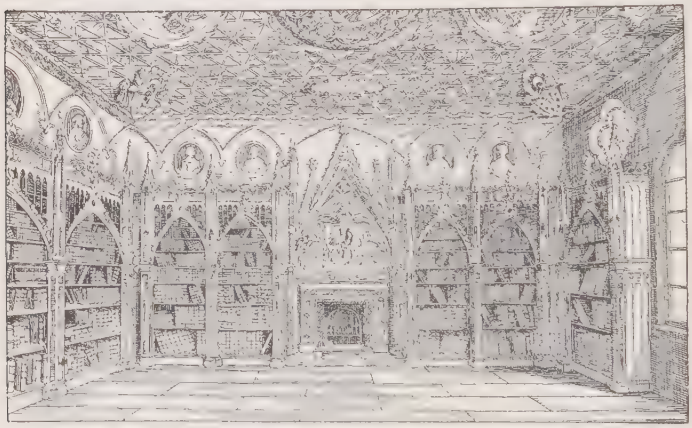
Ossian. In 1762 the world of letters was astonished by the *Poems of Ossian*, purporting to be translations from the Gaelic made by a Scot, James Macpherson. They celebrated wild mountainous scenery, and told tales of love and war in a rhythmic prose abounding in bombastic phrases and startling metaphors.

> As flies the inconstant sun, over Larmon's grassy hill, so pass the tales of old, along my soul by night! When bards are removed to their place: when harps are hung in Selma's halls; then comes a voice to Ossian, and awakes his soul! It is the voice of years that are gone! they roll before me, with all their deeds! I seize the tales as they pass, and pour them forth in song. Nor a troubled stream is the song of the king, it is like the rising of music from Lutha of the strings. Lutha of many strings, not silent are thy streamy rocks, when the white hands of Malvina move upon thy harp. Light of the shadowy thoughts that fly across my soul, daughter of Toscar of helmets, wilt thou not hear the song? We call back, maid of Lutha, the years that have rolled away.

Dr. Johnson thought that this was balderdash and that Macpherson was an impostor. It indeed soon became clear that the author was not Ossian but Macpherson, though he doubtless gained his inspiration from some Gaelic fragments. Gray admired the poems and believed in their genuineness as long as possible, for he felt that here was a striving after a new beauty, unabashed by rules or sense. By means of their novelty, if not their merit, Ossian's "tales of old" awoke the soul of all young Europe; Goethe admired them, and the youthful Napoleon carried a translation about with him in his pocket.

Chatterton. A few years after Ossian, appeared another series of forgeries, poems attributed to a fifteenth century poet Rowley, and made by a precocious boy of fifteen, Thomas

Chatterton (1752–1770). He had spent his childhood among the manuscripts of the old church of St. Mary Redcliffe in Bristol; and the "voice of the years that are gone," speaking out of missal and escutcheon, had awakened his soul. His forgeries were easily exposed; he failed in his efforts to earn a living as a man of letters, and committed suicide at eighteen. In his poems there was a promise of rich and original accom-



Horace Walpole's Library at Strawberry Hill

plishment, the hints of a new beauty that have kept his name the wonder of later generations.

The Castle of Otranto. Gray's friend, Horace Walpole, was one of the early believers in Chatterton, and he too had been dabbling in the Gothic. Walpole was the son of the great prime minister and was a gentleman of leisure, an antiquary, a wit, and a delightful letter writer. He had built what he called a Gothic Castle and took a lively interest in Gothic architecture and Gothic stories. A dream suggested to him a ghost story in which a haunted castle was the chief figure, and in 1764 he published *The Castle of Otranto*. Here was something new in the way of fiction. Instead of picturing contemporary

life and striving to convince the reader of its truth, this tale dealt with medieval times and used the most impossible supernaturalism in an effort to thrill and excite the reader. It was the first of a long series of "tales of terror" or "Gothic romances"; indeed it was the beginning of the use of the supernatural and mysterious in fiction, which has been practiced by great masters, such as Scott, Hawthorne, and Poe, and which still plays a large part in the fiction writing of to-day.

Percy's Reliques. In 1765, a year after *The Castle of Otranto*, appeared Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, this time a genuine collection of the ballads and songs of the past. Dr. Johnson again saw nothing to admire in these old songs; he again failed to feel the charm of "the years that have rolled away," or to understand that here were suggestions and models for new poetic endeavors. For the first time the beautiful popular ballads were brought to the attention of the average reader; and men were delighting in their stories of wonder and enchantment, of lawless love and battle, told with a dramatic simplicity and vigor far different from the polished art of Pope. The boy Scott was soon poring over Percy's *Reliques*, and later Wordsworth and Coleridge were to adopt this Gothic form, the ballad, as the model for their new venture in poetry.

Gothicism. These books that were the literary sensation of the sixties in England all turned from the present and also from the classical world to the Middle Ages, and there discovered elements to excite the wonder and surprise of their readers. Gothic came to mean not barbarous, but medieval, startling, mysterious, and horrible, adjectives that had not belonged to the classical vocabulary of the beautiful. Manifestly, these departures from classicism must be placed along with the continuing influence of Shakespeare, as signs of a growing discontent with the limits placed on subject matter and form under the leadership of Dryden, Pope, and Johnson.

Conclusion. The new ideas were expressed in English only tentatively and not as yet by men of the first rank as writers.

Within the limits of our period there were no great books which threatened the rule of the classics and reason over the imagination. In Germany a new literature had made its beginnings in the work of Lessing, Kant, Schiller, and Goethe, and in France revolutionary philosophy and politics had full expression in Rousseau and others; but in England Blake, Cowper, and Crabbe did not begin to publish until a few years before Johnson's death, and Burns's poems did not appear until two years afterwards. The "great cham of literature" held his throne securely. Under his presidency, indeed, poetry did not luxuriate, but prose flourished as never before. Invention found its best field in the novel; there were many dictionaries, histories, encyclopedias, delightful letters, memoirs, and biographies, and epoch-making discussions of politics, economics, and philosophy. The symbol for the literature which was to come might be found in the precocious and unhappy Chatterton, but the typical man of letters of the years 1744–1784 was the sage and critic, Dr. Johnson.

Guides to Study

Reading. *Poetry*. Goldsmith: The Traveller, The Deserted Village, Retaliation. Gray: Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard.

Prose. Boswell's Johnson (selections). Burke: Speech on Conciliation with America. Johnson: Lives of Dryden and Pope.

Fiction. Goldsmith: Vicar of Wakefield. Johnson: Rasselas. Fanny Burney: Evelina.

Drama. Goldsmith: She Stoops to Conquer.

Macaulay and Carlyle both have interesting essays on Boswell's Johnson and Macaulay has also an essay on Dr. Johnson. Lord Morley's Life of Burke (in English Men of Letters) is admirable. Gibbon's Autobiography and Washington Irving's Life of Goldsmith are other notable biographies. Walpole's Castle of Otranto and selections from Ossian will give an idea of the early Gothicism. The old ballads, which Percy revived, have been treated in a previous chapter. Selections from Chatterton, Young, Collins, and other poets will be found in the collections. The reading of the chief novelists, Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, and Smollett, may well be postponed. Thackeray's The Virginians, Scott's Redgauntlet,

Weyman's The Castle Inn, Dickens's Barnaby Rudge, Frankfort Moore's Jessamy Bride give pictures of the time.

Questions. How was the British Empire enlarged under the elder Pitt? Note a number of important events in the history and the literature of the world which took place within a year or two of 1760. What changes took place in the government of England upon the accession of George III? Of what sort were the governments of Europe? Who was Jean Jacques Rousseau? What were some of his books? What ideas did they advocate? What religious movement was taking place in England? Who were its leaders? Into what three classes is the literature of this period divided?

Tell what you can of the history of the novel up to 1740. Who were the two chief English novelists of the eighteenth century? Who was Samuel Richardson? How did he come to write Pamela? What innovations did Richardson make in the novel? What was the effect of Clarissa Harlowe? What noted Frenchman read it? What did Henry Fielding think of Pamela? What did Richardson's admirers think of Fielding's novels? What is the subject of Tom Jones? What was Fielding's moral purpose? Who were some of the minor novelists? What is the theme of Evelina?

Who became a sort of literary dictator? What were some of his principles? his prejudices? Tell of his life up to the completion of the Dictionary. Describe the circumstances which led to his letter to the Earl of Chesterfield. In what way is this a literary declaration of independence? Was Johnson's acceptance of a government pension a retraction of this independence? What is meant when it is said that his criticism was "judicial" or "dogmatic"? How is it that we know so much of Johnson's personality? What do you think of James Boswell? of the "Great Cham" of literature? Tell the main events of Goldsmith's life. Name his principal works. Describe his character. How does She Stoops to Conquer differ from most comedies of its time? Who was Edmund Burke? What were the three chief subjects on which he spoke and wrote? What were his services to the cause of political freedom? What was his attitude toward the French Revolution? How can you explain his different attitudes toward the American and the French Revolution? Is oratory a part of literature? What American speeches and state papers of the past or the present would you consider an important part of literature? Name representatives in this period of the following divisions of English literature: oratory, history, political economy, philosophy, hymnology.

What was Dr. Johnson's opinion of the classics? of the Middle Ages? How was the term Gothic used by various persons? What writings of

the Middle Ages interested the poet Gray? What is an elegy? What are the poetic qualities of Gray's Elegy? What was the "graveyard" school of poets? Commit to memory the graveyard poem quoted from Collins. Who was Ossian? What was thought of the poems of Ossian by Gray? by Dr. Johnson? Tell the story of Thomas Chatterton. Who was Horace Walpole? Why is his Castle of Otranto important in the history of literature? Who brought out an edition of the old ballads? Enumerate the various books in the sixties that mark the Gothic Revival.

Sum up the various movements and ideas expressed in the literature of this period which were quite distasteful to Dr. Johnson. Why does Dr. Johnson give his name to the period? Is the period distinguished for its poetry or for its prose? for its intellectual or imaginative literature?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. Why We Read Novels. What is Sentimentality? The Novel I Like Best. An Imaginary Conversation between Boswell and Johnson on Fiction of To-day. Dr. Johnson's Opinions of the Poetry of Masefield. Dr. Johnson's Anfractuosities. Oliver Goldsmith. Edmund Burke on the Russian Revolution. An Evening at "The Club." Chatterton, "the Marvelous Boy."

Chronological Table, 1744–1784

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
		1745. Jacobite Rebellion.
1746. Collins, *Odes.*		
1747. Johnson, *Plan for a Dictionary.*		
1748. Hume, *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding.* Richardson, *Clarissa Harlowe.* Smollett, *Roderick Random.* Thomson, *Castle of Indolence.* John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns. Poems* (odes by Gray, Collins, et al.).		
1749. Fielding, *Tom Jones.* Johnson, *Vanity of Human Wishes. Monthly Review* established. Wesley, *Account of Methodists.*	1749. Goethe born. Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws.*	
1750. Johnson, *Rambler.*	1751. French *Encyclopédie,* vol. I; last volume 1780. Diderot was the leader in this great enterprise.	1752. Benjamin Franklin proves that lightning is electricity.
1751. Fielding, *Amelia.* Gray, *Elegy.*		
1753. Richardson, *Sir Charles Grandison.*		
	1754. Jonathan Edwards, *Essay on Freedom of the Will.*	
1755. Johnson, *Dictionary.*		1755. Earthquake at Lisbon.
		1756. Beginning of Seven Years' War. The Black Hole of Calcutta.
	1757. Voltaire, *Candide.*	1757. Battle of Plassy in Bengal.
1758. Johnson, *Idler.*		
1759. Johnson, *Rasselas.* Sterne, *Tristram Shandy.*		1759. Capture of Quebec.
1760. Goldsmith, *Citizen of the World.* Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry.*	1760. Rousseau, *Nouvelle Heloïse.*	1760. George III.
1762. Macpherson, *Poems of Ossian.*	1762. Rousseau, *Contrat Social.*	1762. Bute, prime minister.
1764. Goldsmith, *The Traveller.* Walpole, *Castle of Otranto.*	1764. Rousseau, *Émile.* Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity.*	
1770. Johnson, Edition of Shakespeare. Percy, *Reliques of Ancient Poetry.*		1765. Stamp Act for American Colonies.
1766. Goldsmith, *Vicar of Wakefield.*	1766. Lessing, *Laokoön.*	
1767. Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* (completed).	1767. Lessing, *Minna von Barnhelm.*	

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1768. Chatterton, *Ælla.* Gray, *Poems.* Sterne, *Sentimental Journey.*		1768. Watt's steam-engine. Arkwright's spinning jenny.
1769. Junius, First Letter.		
1770. Goldsmith, *Deserted Village.*		1770. Lord North, prime minister.
1771. Smollett, *Humphrey Clinker.*		
Encyclopædia Britannica, 1st ed.	1772. Lessing, *Emilia Galotti.*	1772. Partition of Poland by Prussia, Russia, and Austria.
1773. Goldsmith, *She Stoops to Conquer.* Warton, *History of English Poetry.* Sheridan, *The Rivals.*	1773. Swedenborg died. Goethe, *Götz von Berlichingen.* Bürger, *Lenore.*	1773. Tea Party in Boston Harbor.
	1774. Goethe, *Sorrows of Werther.*	1774. Louis XVI King of France.
1775. Burke, *Speech on Conciliation with America.*	1775. Beaumarchais, *Barber of Seville.*	1775. American Revolutionary War begun.
1776. Bentham, *Fragment on Government.* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (vol. I). Tom Paine, *Common Sense.* Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations.*		1776. Declaration of Independence by American colonies.
1777. Burke, *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol.* Sheridan, *School for Scandal.*		1777. Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga.
1778. Frances Burney, *Evelina.*	1778. Voltaire and Rousseau died.	
1779. Johnson, *Lives of the Poets.* Newton and Cowper, *Olney Hymns.*	1779. Lessing, *Nathan the Wise.*	
1780. Crabbe, *The Candidate.*		
	1781. Kant, *Critique of the Pure Reason.* Schiller, *The Robbers.*	1781. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.
1782. Cowper, *Table Talk.*		1782. England acknowledges the independence of the United States.
1783. Blake, *Poetical Sketches.* Crabbe, *The Village.*		
1784. Beckford, *Vathek.* Johnson died.		1784. William Pitt, the younger, prime minister. Cartwright invents power loom.

CHAPTER XII

THE POETRY OF THE ROMANTIC PERIOD, 1785–1832

INTRODUCTION. The French Revolution. The Industrial Revolution. THE FORERUNNERS OF ROMANTICISM. Cowper. Crabbe. Burns. Satire. Description. Songs. Language.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. *The Lyrical Ballads.* Life. The Language of Poetry. Treatment of Human Nature. *The Solitary Reaper.* Philosophy of Nature. Long Poems.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE. Life. *The Ancient Mariner. Christabel. Kubla Khan.* Politics and Nature.

SIR WALTER SCOTT. Life. Later Years. Character. Three Long Poems. Lyric Verse.

LORD BYRON. Early Life. Later Years. Personality. Lyrics. Satire and Description. Narratives. Dramas.

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Life. Revolutionary Ideas. Lyrical Gift. Imagination. *The Cenci* and *Adonais.*

JOHN KEATS. Life. His Promise. First Volume. *Endymion.* The 1820 Volume.

MINOR POETS. Landor. Blake.

CONCLUSION.

The close of the eighteenth century is one of the great periods in history. The two outstanding events were the achieving of American independence and the French Revolution, both of enormous importance for the future of the world, and both involving tremendous changes in men's ways of thinking as well as in external political arrangements.

The French Revolution. Six years after George III recognized the independence of the United States, the French Revolution broke out — a revolution involving a far more complete overturn of existing conditions than the development of the American colonies into an independent power. It involved not merely the abolition of the French monarchy, but

the wiping out of the whole aristocratic system, and the attempt to reconstruct the state and society on the basis of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. In its earlier stages it won the sympathy of liberals everywhere; but as it became more and more bloody in its methods, and as France engaged in foreign wars which turned into wars of conquest under Napoleon, its friends abroad lost faith in it and finally supported the combination of nations that brought about the fall of the empire of Napoleon and once more set up the Bourbon monarchy. The enthusiasm produced by the fall of the Bastille, where Louis XVI had kept political prisoners, is best expressed in the famous lines of Wordsworth.

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven! Oh! times,
> In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
> Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
> The attraction of a country in romance!
> When Reason seemed the most to assert her rights,
> When most intent on making of herself
> A prime Enchantress — to assist the work
> Which then was going forward in her name!
> Not favored spots alone, but the whole earth,
> The beauty wore of promise, that which sets
> (As at some moments might not be unfelt
> Among the bowers of paradise itself)
> The budding rose above the rose full blown.

The Industrial Revolution. The conservative landowners in England were naturally alarmed lest the French example should prove infectious, and in a panic they sought to suppress the spread of the revolutionary ideas. Their task was the harder because of certain internal conditions. The invention of the steam-engine by James Watt in 1765 and the subsequent invention of new machines for weaving, spinning, and the like, were bringing about a great change in industry. The factory system, made possible by the introduction of new machinery, was taking the place of the cottage workshop; and though

this led to the accumulation of great wealth among the manufacturers, it threw many men out of employment, and the working classes were suffering great hardships. But the political danger of a world-empire under Bonaparte gave the conservatives power for the time to check the social unrest produced by "the industrial revolution"; and by 1815, the date of the battle of Waterloo, the cause of liberalism seemed defeated. With the overthrow of Napoleon, however, the danger passed, and the next twenty years saw the gradual recovery of courage by those who believed in progress, in the principle of equal opportunity for all men, and in freedom of speech and action. For the last decade of this period these ideas gained rapidly in power and triumphed in the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832, an event that marks the beginning of a new epoch.

In the previous chapter we have seen that in the midst of the prevailing literary tendencies of the age of Johnson certain interests and ideas not in harmony with neo-classical taste were becoming prominent. Among these were "Gothicism," the revival of interest in the Middle Ages and in the mystery and picturesqueness which belonged to that period; the growing appreciation of the Elizabethans; increasing love for natural scenery and for more accurate and fresh description; and the broadening and deepening of sentimental pity into an active movement for the relief of misery. All of these were carried farther in the next age and are parts of the many-sided movement called the triumph of romanticism which we have now to describe.

It is very difficult to give a definition of romanticism which will embrace everything that has been included in it and which will yet have a distinct central idea. But if we think of classicism as the result of the supremacy of reason and order, and realism as emphasis on faithfulness to fact, romanticism may be considered the outcome of giving freedom and importance to the individual imagination. In the chief poets to be treated

in this chapter, the dominance of imagination will be easily noted, while their marked differences from one another will remind us of the importance of the individual in the romantic point of view, as against the weight of authority in tradition or society.

Romanticism was not a new thing in the so-called romantic period, but is a permanent tendency in human nature, appearing in some degree and in some moods in nearly all men and all periods. It characterized the age of Shakespeare as much as the age of Wordsworth, and it had its representatives in the days of Addison and Pope. The name romantic is applied specifically to the literature of the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century because then the impulse broke out in strong contrast to the previously prevailing tendencies, not only in England, but in most countries of western Europe, notably Germany and France; and though many new phases have appeared in the later nineteenth century, the romantic conception of the essence of poetry still prevails.

The Forerunners of Romanticism

The school of Pope had tended to occupy itself with the town rather than the country, and when it did describe country life, to do it unsympathetically, or through the eyes of the conventional writers of pastoral. Now we find a group of men like Cowper, Crabbe, and Burns dealing with the country at first hand and picturing it truthfully from actual observation.

William Cowper. William Cowper was an invalid who occupied his leisure in a country town in the midlands of England with writing poetry, descriptive, satirical, and sacred. Some of his *Olney Hymns*, as, for instance, *God moves in a mysterious way*, *Hark, my soul, it is the Lord*, and *Oh for a closer walk with God*, still appear in our church collections; but his satire lacked the vigor and the knowledge of actual life needed to keep it alive. We value him most for his truthful and charming pic-

turing of the flat farming country in which he lived, its slow rivers and cottages and elm trees; and for a handful of personal poems on his friends and relatives, and on the hares which his kindly and gentle nature enabled him to tame.

> Not rural sights alone, but rural sounds
> Exhilarate the spirit, and restore
> The tone of languid nature. Mighty winds,
> That sweep the skirt of some far-spreading wood
> Of ancient growth, make music not unlike
> The dash of ocean on his winding shore,
> And lull the spirit while they fill the mind,
> Unnumbered branches waving in the blast,
> And all their leaves fast fluttering, all at once.
> Nor less composure waits upon the roar
> Of distant floods, or on the softer voice
> Of neighboring fountain, or of rills that slip
> Through the cleft rock, and, chiming as they fall
> Upon loose pebbles, lose themselves at length
> In matted grass, that with a livelier green
> Betrays the secret of their silent course.
>
> *The Sofa.*

His *John Gilpin* achieved a unique place among humorous verse. For many years his poetry had a special vogue in religious circles, and he has an honorable place among English letter writers.

Crabbe. George Crabbe was a more vigorous if a less charming personality. He had been brought up in hardship in an unpicturesque district on the east coast, and, though he afterwards reached a comfortable position in the church, he retained a vivid recollection of the miserable surroundings of his youth and resented the rosy pictures of the country which he found in pastoral poetry, even in so moderate a view as that in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. So he determined to disillusion the reading world, and in his *Village*, *Borough*, *Parish Register*, and other collections of verse tales, he told what he believed to be the truth about life in the country and the country town. He is not without humor, is often pathetic and once or twice ap-

BURNS

proaches real tragedy; but in general there is little delight in reading his dismal stories of drunken sailors and unfortunate maidservants. He had a limited imagination, and his feeling for these people was rather the official pity and disapproval of the clergyman than the sympathetic understanding of the poet. Yet he did a service in helping to end the humbug which irritated him in the conventional treatment of the peasant.

The Birthplace of Robert Burns

Robert Burns. Very different was the attitude of Robert Burns (1759–1796). Himself a Scottish peasant, the son of a small and unsuccessful farmer, Burns labored on the soil from boyhood and lived the hard life which Crabbe portrayed and censured. Yet Burns's view of country life is a hundred times more cheerful than Crabbe's. Not that Burns was never discouraged. When he was about twenty-six his circumstances had become so difficult that he determined to emigrate to the West Indies, but indications of the success of his first volume of poems led him to change his mind at the last moment. He went up to Edinburgh and for a season was made much of by

fashionable and literary circles, then returned to his farming and later became an exciseman. At no time was he far above the reach of poverty, often he was in its grip. His buoyant disposition, his love of intense living, and his enjoyment of social intercourse, in which he always shone, made him at times seek satisfaction in ways that were good neither for his morals nor his health; and he died a broken man at thirty-seven.

Satire. Burns's first successes were achieved in the field of satire. A movement against severe puritanism was going on in the Scottish church, and he took sides with the more liberal party, the "New Lights." In a series of lively and sometimes scurrilous verses he attacked the self-righteousness and hypocrisy of the local leaders of the conservative "Old Lights." In spite of the fact that the persons and the issues of the controversy have long passed, the vigor of his assault and the pith and vehemence of his phrases make these satires still entertaining.

Description. Another group of poems describes with full understanding and warm sympathy the life of the countryside. In *The Cotter's Saturday Night* he pictures the decent devoutness of his father's house; in *Hallowe'en*, the folk customs of the Scottish peasantry on a festival eve; in *The Holy Fair*, a sacramental feast with its attendant excesses; in *Tam O' Shanter*, the village ale-house, and the ludicrous adventures of a drunken farmer who stumbles upon a witches' celebration; in *The Jolly Beggars* the carousing of a gang of tramps in a low drinking resort on a Saturday night. In these poems, beautiful and sordid, pathetic and comic, we have a revelation, unexcelled in its truth and intimacy and sympathy, of the Scottish rustic of the eighteenth century.

Songs. But his great achievement was his song-writing. With a deep love of music and a little technical knowledge of it, he had become familiar with the folk tunes which the Scottish people had sung for generations. The words had been miserably degraded, so he rewrote them, sometimes in part,

often completely, but kept the old melodies. With extraordinary tact he retained the tone of the popular compositions; so that in a short time his countrymen had accepted his words instead of the old. Seldom has a poet become so completely national. Yet the brilliance of his imagination, the sweetness of his melody, and the happiness of his phrase are such that he is one of the most loved poets, not of Scotland only, but of the world.

Language. Like Chaucer, Burns labors under the disadvantage of writing in a language not always easily intelligible to the modern reader. His native speech was the Lowland Scottish, a development of northern Anglo-Saxon; and though he wrote many good poems in English, much of the best of his work is in dialect. That the limitations imposed by this fact have not seriously interfered with the range of his influence is shown by the following well-known lines — the most universal of parting songs among the English-speaking peoples.

AULD LANG SYNE[1]

Should auld acquaintance be forgot
And never brought to min'?
Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And auld lang syne?

For auld lang syne, my dear,
For auld lang syne,
We'll tak a cup o' kindness yet,
For auld lang syne.

And surely ye'll be your pint-stoup,[2]
And surely I'll be mine;
And we'll tak a cup o' kindness yet
For auld lang syne.

We 'twa hae run about the braes,[3]
And pu'd the gowans[4] fine;
But we've wandered mony a weary foot
Sin' auld lang syne.

[1] Old long ago. [2] will pay for your bottle. [3] hill-sides. [4] daisies.

We twa hae paidled i' the burn [1]
From morning sun till dine;
But seas between us braid [2] hae roar'd
Sin auld lang syne.

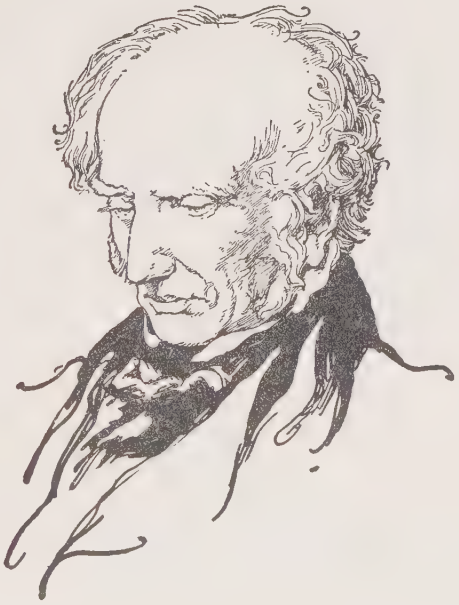
And there's a hand, my trusty fiere,[3]
And gie's [4] a hand o' thine;
And we'll tak a right guid-willie waught,[5]
For auld lang syne.

William Wordsworth (1770–1850)

The Lyrical Ballads. The year 1798 is often taken as marking the coming to the top of tendencies which had been suppressed or only apparent here and there through the eighteenth century. In that year appeared a little volume called *Lyrical Ballads and Other Poems* by two hitherto obscure young men, William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. They had found each other during a sojourn in a remote corner of Somersetshire; in their walks they had talked together on the state of English literature, and had finally concocted the scheme which resulted in this book and which caused a revolution in English poetry.

Life. Wordsworth had been born in a small village in Cumberland, and reared among the mountains of what is known as the Lake district of northern England. Coleridge, Southey, and others lived for varying periods in the same district, and the association led to the labeling of the group as "the Lake School," though as time went on they developed more and more on individual lines. After the usual course at Cambridge, which Wordsworth did not find much to his taste, he made a tour on the Continent, and was in Paris while the French Revolution was in progress. He became enthusiastic at the prospect of the new liberty which it promised to the world, and was with difficulty prevented from joining the Republican army. After

[1] waded in the brook. [2] broad. [3] comrade. [4] give me. [5] draught of good will.



WORDSWORTH

he returned to England he suffered much agony of mind when his own country went to war with France; but as the Revolution passed into the Reign of Terror, and the war of liberation became a war of conquest, he lost faith in the new movement, and gradually took sides with English conservatism. He retired to his native mountains, where on a small legacy and his income as a distributor of stamps for the government, he lived quietly to extreme old age. Wordsworth died poet-laureate of England in 1850 at the age of eighty. During his long and externally uneventful life he wrote much, but the poems that account for the naming of the period the "age of Wordsworth" were nearly all written by the time he reached middle life, most of them between 1797 and 1810. Placid as he appears on the outside, Wordsworth was a man capable of profound emotion; but he put stress, both in theory and practice, on the duty of self-control, believing that

> the Gods approve
> The depth and not the tumult of the soul.

Thus his personality lacks the interest that comes from such a turbulent career as Byron's, but for the sympathetic reader the work which expresses it has qualities that afford a singularly permanent satisfaction.

The Language of Poetry. The poems in the volume of 1798 embodied a protest against two characteristics of current literature which seemed to Wordsworth extremely mischievous. One was the employment in verse of a special vocabulary which he called "poetic diction." Much verse that lacked real feeling and imagination sought to escape being prosaic by avoiding calling things by their ordinary names, using, for example, "the finny drove" for a shoal of fishes, "the sportive tenant of the spicy lawn" for deer, "the tame villatic fowl" for hen. In contrast with this, he argued in his prose prefaces that the language of poetry should not be an artificial dialect, but a selection of the actual language of men under the influence

of powerful feelings; and though he sometimes carried his theory to an extreme, he did a great service to English poetry in bringing it back to a natural and spontaneous use of words.

Treatment of Human Nature. The second characteristic against which he protested was the attempt to arouse interest by such violent sensationalism as is exemplified in the novels and plays of the so-called School of Terror. This he believed could be corrected by treating ordinary incidents of everyday life with such truth and insight as to bring out the fundamental qualities of human nature, and by throwing over them what he called a "coloring of the imagination." Such a method, he held, instead of creating a coarse appetite for more and more violent sensations, would cultivate a fineness of perception in the reader that would more and more increase his capacity for intense enjoyment. All this can be made clearer by an example.

THE SOLITARY REAPER

Behold her, single in the field,
Yon solitary Highland Lass!
Reaping and singing by herself;
Stop here, or gently pass!
Alone she cuts and binds the grain,
And sings a melancholy strain;
O listen; for the Vale profound
Is overflowing with the sound.

No Nightingale did ever chaunt
More welcome notes to weary bands
Of travelers in some shady haunt,
Among Arabian sands:
A voice so thrilling ne'er was heard
In spring-time from the Cuckoo-Bird,
Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides.

Will no one tell me what she sings? —
Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow
For old, unhappy, far-off things,
And battles long ago:

Or is it some more humble lay,
Familiar matter of to-day?
Some natural sorrow, loss, or pain,
That has been, and may be again?

Whate'er the theme, the Maiden sang
As if her song could have no ending;
I saw her singing at her work,
And o'er the sickle bending;—
I listened, motionless and still;
And, as I mounted up the hill
The music in my heart I bore,
Long after it was heard no more.

The Solitary Reaper. As to language, it will be noted that in this poem there is none of the artificial poetic diction he despised, but that, though the words are common enough, they are combined into phrases that stimulate the feelings and the imagination as only a poet can. Such are "old, unhappy, far-off things," and "the silence of the seas."

Rydal Mount, Occupied by Wordsworth from 1813 to His Death in 1850

As to subject, nothing could be simpler than that of a young girl singing as she reaped. But her absorption in her work and her singing, "as if her song could have no ending," and the quality of the music of her song itself stirred the poet to the depths, and set his imagination wandering over Arabian sands and the farthest Hebrides in space, and back to battles long ago in time, till the simple experience was enriched with a great mass of associations. With this enrichment, this

coloring of the imagination, appealing to deep-buried instincts and memories, the commonplace happening became a striking event to be carried as a refreshing memory through life; and his power of expression is such that he enables us to share the experience with him.

These verses, then, are typical of what Wordsworth tried to do and often succeeded in doing. In his adherence to ordinary life and his faithfulness in description he is sometimes classed with realists like Crabbe and Burns; in his power to cast over that life

> The light that never was on sea or land,
> The consecration and the poet's dream,

he was truly romantic.

Philosophy of Nature. But Wordsworth's imagination attempted something beyond such enrichment of ordinary experience as is exemplified in *The Solitary Reaper*, or similar poems, such as *I wandered lonely as a cloud*, *To a Highland Girl*, *Stepping Westward*, and scores of others. In the *Lines Composed above Tintern Abbey*, published in *Lyrical Ballads*, we have the most condensed statement of his much discussed philosophy of nature. The poem begins with one of his detailed and graphic pictures of an actual landscape, and goes on to a kind of autobiographical sketch of the different phases he had passed through in his relation to the external world. He tells how as a boy he was excited by the scenery of his native mountains, how later his enjoyment became calmer and deeper, and how finally he came to find nature not inanimate, but like man himself the dwelling place of an all-pervading soul.

> And I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,

> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.

Another aspect of his relation to nature is expressed in his magnificent *Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood*, where he suggests that the splendor of the world as he saw it as a boy, a splendor which has largely faded with the wear and tear of the world, is due to a life before this life.

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home.

Long Poems. In the superb language, the glowing emotion, the high imaginative vision of this lyric, Wordsworth reached his highest achievement, but passages of noble poetry occur also in his long poems. *The Prelude* is autobiographical, the story of the growth of a poet's mind, and was intended as the introduction to a vast philosophical group, of which *The Excursion* and the fragmentary *Recluse* were the members. In these poems Wordsworth exhibits a characteristic which is shown by all the major poets of the century, to use poetry to express a more or less philosophical interpretation of the universe. But his fame depends on the two classes we have discussed, his interpretations of simple experience, and his half mystical revelations of the meaning of nature.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834)

Life. As a boy Coleridge was precocious, the wonder of his elders rather than the hero of the playground. He went to

school at Christ's Hospital in London, an old endowed institution occupying the buildings of a former monastery. The boys wore long blue coats, yellow stockings, low shoes, and no hats; and these oddities might easily emphasize any natural tendencies a youth might have to eccentricity. He was a good scholar, but he went far beyond his required studies in his interest in philosophy and poetry. From Christ's Hospital he went to Cambridge University, where he got into debt, which so troubled him that he ran away and joined the dragoons, but his brother bought him off.

Coleridge was now full of dreams of political and literary revolution and busied himself with writing, lecturing, and preaching. With Robert Southey and a few other young men he planned a "Pantisocracy," a community of poets and philosophers which was to be established in America on the banks of the Susquehanna. The scheme ended when Coleridge and Southey married two sisters and were confronted with the necessity of supporting their families. By this time Coleridge had met Wordsworth and the two poets were planning and writing *The Lyrical Ballads*. Coleridge impressed every one who knew him as a man of astonishing genius, and he received an annuity from a generous admirer in order that he might devote his life to poetry and philosophy. All his best poetry was written within a few months in the years 1796, 1797.

Coleridge went to Germany, learned the language and became interested in its philosophy. On his return to England he wrote for the newspapers, and planned many great literary undertakings. But his dreamy impracticability and his weakness of will were increased by his use of opium. For years he was a victim to this habit, and though he wrote much prose and planned great schemes, he did nothing commensurate with the high expectations which his friends had formed for him. The last years of his life were spent in the house of friends at Highgate, near London, where he talked endlessly if obscurely

to the young literary men of the time, who regarded him as a kind of prophet endowed with a great poetical imagination and a subtle philosophical mind. Here we are to consider only the wonderful poems that he wrote in the first years of his friendship with Wordsworth.

The Ancient Mariner. When Coleridge joined with Wordsworth in the production of *Lyrical Ballads*, it was understood that he was to try to give supernatural subjects a human reality. This he did in his masterpiece, *The Ancient Mariner*. The story of how a sailor stopped a man going to a wedding and told him of his strange adventures in the equatorial and antarctic seas is certainly far enough from ordinary life, and it fills the mind with wonder and awe. At the same time we are made to realize vividly the experiences of the mariner by Coleridge's power of making us share his emotions of fear and pity, admiration and remorse, and by comparisons with familiar sights and sounds. An example of the former method is found in such a stanza as this,

> Like one, that on a lonesome road
> Doth walk in fear and dread,
> And having once turned round walks on,
> And turns no more his head;
> Because he knows, a frightful fiend
> Doth close behind him tread,

or in these lines,

> Fear at my heart, as at a cup,
> My life-blood seemed to sip;

and of the latter in these charming verses:

> Sometimes a-dropping from the sky
> I heard the sky-lark sing;
> Sometimes all little birds that are,
> How they seemed to fill the sea and air
> With their sweet jargoning!

And now 'twas like all instruments,
Now like a lonely flute;
And now it is an angel's song,
That makes the heavens be mute.

It ceased; yet still the sails made on
A pleasant noise till noon,
A noise like to a hidden brook
In the leafy month of June,
That to the sleeping woods all night
Singeth a quiet tune.

The incidents in *The Ancient Mariner* are made easier of acceptance by the reader's imagination through the medieval suggestions of such a figure as the Hermit, which help to remove the story from the tests of everyday experience; and a touch of the medieval is given also by the use of occasional old-fashioned words like "minstrelsy" and "countree," and by the use of a modification of the old ballad meter. But in spite of its mixture of ancient and modern, of ordinary and extraordinary, the poem has a unified and distinct atmosphere of its own. Its beauty of music and imagery and its quality of feeling are like those of no other poem in literature. It is alone of its kind.

Christabel. Another notable experiment in the supernatural, this time characteristically unfinished, is *Christabel*, a weird tale of a mysterious lady who casts a spell over the heroine. It is never quite clear what it is all about, but the poem creates an atmosphere as distinct in its different way as that of *The Ancient Mariner*, and freezes our blood with a terror no less powerful. It too is full of lines and phrases of extraordinary beauty:

The night is chill; the forest bare;
Is it the wind that moaneth bleak?
There is not enough wind in the air
To move away the ringlet curl
From the lovely lady's cheek —
There is not wind enough to twirl

> The one red leaf, the last of its clan,
> That dances as often as dance it can,
> Hanging so light, and hanging so high,
> On the topmost twig that looks up to the sky.

It has many exquisite little detailed pictures, sometimes of things familiar and known, sometimes of things remote and imagined; and as in the stanza quoted the irregular meter is molded to express and harmonize with every minute change in thought and feeling.

Kubla Khan. A still more remarkable fragment is *Kubla Khan*, dreamed by the poet in an opium sleep after reading Marco Polo's travels in the East. It is to be read, not for story or consecutive thought, but more as one listens to a series of imaginative variations on a musical theme. In such lines as

> A savage place! as holy and enchanted
> As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
> By woman wailing for her demon-lover

we have the very essence of the romantic. Every lover of poetry must curse the "man from Porlock" who interrupted the writing down of this marvelous fantasy in verse.

Politics and Nature. Like Wordsworth, Coleridge had his period of enthusiasm for the French Revolution, and he too suffered reaction. His ode, *France*, is the most notable of his political poems, and expresses the idea that freedom is after all less a matter of removing external restraints than of liberating the soul from the tyranny of the lower passions. He also shared the fresh interest of the poets of the time in external nature, and showed a fine power of observation and description. Witness such a passage as the following:

> Therefore all seasons shall be sweet to thee,
> Whether the summer clothe the general earth
> With greenness, or the redbreast sit and sing
> Betwixt the tufts of snow on the bare branch
> Of mossy apple-tree, while the nigh thatch

Smokes in the sun-thaw; whether the eave-drops fall
Heard only in the trances of the blast,
Or if the secret ministry of frost
Shall hang them up in silent icicles,
Quietly shining to the quiet moon.

But he had not Wordsworth's faith in the power of nature to soothe and edify. To him, nature merely reflects the mood one brings to her, and in his *Dejection, an Ode,* he expresses his sense of the powerlessness of external things to "minister to a mind diseased."

Lady, we receive but what we give,
And in our life alone does nature live.

To the men who knew Coleridge his achievement was a disappointment. He seemed to his friends a man of marvelous endowments, but they felt that what he produced was far from representing his power. Certain weaknesses in his character prevented the world's reaping the full harvest of his wonderful intellect and imagination; yet in his best poems and criticisms we have a handful of masterpieces.

Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832)

Though Wordsworth and Coleridge are to us the leaders of the romantic revival, their popularity during the period when they were writing their best poetry was limited to a narrow circle. The first writer who, breaking away from the traditions of the eighteenth century, attracted a large audience was Walter Scott, and the romantic impulse reached him by a route quite other than that of the so-called Lake Poets.

Life. Scott was the son of an Edinburgh lawyer who was descended from an old family of Scottish borderers. Being a sickly child, Walter was sent to his grandfather's in Roxburghshire, and there almost in infancy began the storing of his mind with the legends and ballads which were still current on the

countryside, and which were later to have a profound influence on his authorship. By the time he was twelve he had made collections of old ballads and was known as a great story-teller. His favorite books were Percy's *Reliques* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, of which he could recite long passages; and his excursions about Scotland had filled him with a love for its beautiful scenery. He returned to Edinburgh to attend the

Abbotsford, Scott's Residence from 1811 to His Death in 1832

High School and the University, and took up the law. Though he obtained a dignified position in this profession, his heart was elsewhere. His first publications were translations of German romantic works, and these were followed by the editing of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), a collection of traditional ballads with some imitations of his own. In 1805 he published *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which at once achieved great popularity, and he followed this up with *Marmion* and *The Lady of the Lake*. His later works of this kind were less

successful, and suffered from the great success of Byron's *Childe Harold*. In 1814 Scott, while hunting among his fishing tackle, found the unfinished and forgotten manuscript of *Waverley*, and wrote the last two volumes in three weeks. The novel was published anonymously on July 7th, and had sold six editions before the end of the year. Scott had laid the foundations of a new reputation.

Later Years. Other novels followed in quick succession; and Scott, who, ambitious to found a landed family, had acquired the estate of Abbotsford on the Tweed, frankly used his pen to gather money to build his mansion and enlarge his property. He became also a silent partner in the house of Ballantyne, which published many of his writings, and when in 1826 the firm failed, Scott refused to take advantage of the bankruptcy laws and set to work to pay off a debt of nearly half a million dollars. By writing novels and biographies, by hack work as an editor, and by new editions of his earlier books he made great progress in this colossal task. But the strain was too great, and there was little in these last years to relieve it. Lady Scott died in 1826, and Scott was already despairing of the life of his "darling grandson" for whom he was writing *The Tales of a Grandfather*. The agitation for the Reform Bill aroused his bitter hostility and his fears for the future of the country. The *Life of Napoleon*, equal in bulk to five novels, was a great expenditure of his failing energy, but he kept on writing after his health was broken and his powers failing. Suddenly in 1830 he was stricken with paralysis; and though he recovered sufficiently to resume dictation, the end was near. After a fruitless voyage to the Mediterranean, he was brought home to Abbotsford, where he died peacefully in 1832, within sound of his beloved Tweed.

Character. Scott was as different as possible from the ordinary conception of the romantic poet. On one side he was a modest, level-headed Scot, with great respect for established institutions and for the usefulness of money. On the

other hand, he had a vivid historical imagination which was especially fascinated by the age of chivalry. The two sides met when he faced commercial ruin in the spirit of a medieval knight. His deepest emotion was the sense of honor; and though one may miss in his poetry much of the idealism that elevates the work of some of his contemporaries, his chivalric quality lifts him far above mere materialism. There is no more manly and wholesome figure dealt with in this book.

Three Long Poems. The three long poems which first brought him fame are too well known to need description. They owe their form and spirit to Scott's lifelong familiarity with the medieval metrical romance and the ballad; and they reproduce many of the qualities of these works. They are good stories told in stirring verse, and they have as their chief quality rapidity and vigor in describing action. At their best, as in the opening of the grave in the *Lay*, in the battle of Flodden in *Marmion*, in the duel between Fitz-James and Roderick Dhu in *The Lady of the Lake*, they are of very high merit indeed; at their worst they are good versified romances. Further, they contain numbers of passages of highly colored descriptions of scenery, less delicate than those of Wordsworth or Coleridge, less minute and sensitive than those of Keats which were to come, but bold and vivid enough to have made the places described the haunts of tourists from all over the world.

Lyric Verse. The romantic poetry hitherto discussed has been mostly of a very personal nature, and in contrast with Wordsworth and Coleridge, Scott is certainly a very impersonal and objective writer. Yet he did produce a considerable quantity of lyric verse, occasionally personal, like the Epilogue to *The Lady of the Lake*, but oftener dramatic, like *Bonnie Dundee* and *King Charles*. In these poems there is a greater concentration of feeling and thought than in the long narratives, and it is on them that the highest rating of Scott as a poet is likely to rest. How delicate his imaginative work can be and how fit his expression, may be seen in this little poem.

Proud Maisie is in the wood,
Walking so early;
Sweet Robin sits on the bush,
Singing so rarely.

"Tell me, thou bonny bird,
When shall I marry me?"
"When six braw gentlemen
Kirkward shall carry ye."

"Who makes the bridal bed,
Birdie, say truly?"
"The gray-headed sexton
That delves the grave duly.

"The glow-worm o'er grave and stone
Shall light thee steady;
The owl from the steeple sing
'Welcome, proud lady.'"

Lord Byron (1778–1824)

Early Life. If the border fighters among the forefathers of Scott are important in the explanation of the spirit of his poetry, the ancestry of Lord Byron is no less significant for his. George Gordon, after his eleventh year Lord Byron, was descended on the male side from a hard-living, hard-fighting line of soldiers and sailors, and on the female side from a somewhat eccentric branch of the Scottish family of Gordon. His father, "mad Jack Byron of the Guards," was a dissipated rake, who squandered his wife's fortune, and left her, a passionate and ill-balanced woman, to bring up the future poet. He was educated at Harrow and Cambridge, and published his first volume of poems, *Hours of Idleness*, while still at college. The little book of imitative and affected verses was mercilessly attacked in the *Edinburgh Review*, and Byron, flaming with injured vanity, replied in his first satire, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, in which he lays about him indiscriminately, sneering at all the writers of the day. On his return from a continental

BYRON

tour he issued the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, and, in his own phrase, "awoke one morning to find himself famous." His popularity was further increased by his series of romantic narratives. He was made much of by society, and attracted many of the weaker sort by posing as a bold bad man. His marriage turned out badly, public feeling rose against him, and he left England forever, embittered by what he felt to be the hypocritical element in the change of feeling that drove him into exile.

Later Years. This crisis in his life had a vital effect on his imagination, for the poems which followed far surpass his earlier work. Most of the rest of his life he spent in Switzerland and Italy, for a time in intimate relations with Shelley, his writing being done in the intervals of dissipation and political conspiracy on behalf of Italian freedom. Here he composed the two later cantos of *Childe Harold*, most of his dramas, and his masterpiece, *Don Juan*. On the outbreak of the Greek war of independence he went to Greece and placed his fortune and his sword at the service of the cause of liberty. But before he reached the front, he caught fever and died at Missolonghi in 1824.

The character of Byron, like that of Burns, has been the subject of much controversy. There is no doubt that he was, especially in youth, absurdly given to a kind of theatrical affectation of devilry, of having drained life dry and found nothing satisfying. By a stroke of irony, much that he more or less insincerely put on at twenty-two was actual enough ten years later.

Personality. Byron was by nature highly impatient of any kind of control, and this impatience lies at the bottom of the conduct that outraged public opinion and led him into all kinds of excesses. But it was connected also with one of his noblest qualities, his love of liberty. At a time when the later developments of the French Revolution had discredited the cause of freedom, Byron took up the falling torch, and both in his

poems and his activities did much to restore enthusiasm for liberalism throughout Europe. He became the most popular of English poets on the Continent; to Greece he became a hero and martyr. At once brilliantly clever and intellectually indolent, generous in impulse but capable of great meanness, sentimental and cynical, Byron, in spite of his inconsistencies and contradictions, by the sheer fire and force of his personality remains one of the most striking figures in the history of our literature.

Lyrics. The poetry of Byron may be divided into five kinds, lyric, satiric, descriptive, narrative, and dramatic. The lyrics are often spoiled by insincerity and sentimentality, but occasionally, especially as he grew older, he uttered real feeling in a memorable way. Here is an example of his more melodious song.

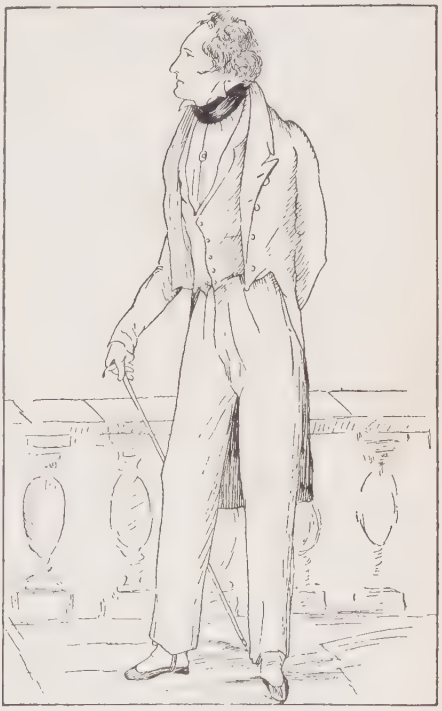
She walks in beauty, like the night
  Of cloudless climes and starry skies;
And all that's best of dark and bright
  Meet in her aspect and her eyes:
Thus mellowed to that tender light
  Which heaven to gaudy day denies.

One shade the more, one ray the less,
  Had half impaired the nameless grace
Which waves in every raven tress,
  Or softly lightens o'er her face;
Where thoughts serenely sweet express
  How pure, how dear, their dwelling-place.

And on that cheek, and o'er that brow,
  So soft, so calm, so eloquent,
The smiles that win, the tints that glow,
  But tell of days in goodness spent,
A mind at peace with all below,
  A heart whose love is innocent!

Satire and Description. His brilliance appears to greatest advantage in his satires. He began in *English Bards and*

Scotch Reviewers by imitating Pope, whom he admired extremely, but he had not the patience to polish his verses as Pope did. In *Don Juan* he gave his own individuality freer play, and in the cantos which he finished he ridiculed human nature and society in various countries with mischievous delight and with inexhaustible wit. Like Byron himself, this poem is full of exaggerated contrasts, of romantic enthusiasm and bitter cynicism. It is the best representative both of his strange character and of his poetic power. His best description occurs in *Childe Harold*, the third and fourth cantos of which contain his most eloquent poetry. Here he expresses his positive enthusiasms, his admiration for striking features of nature, the mountains and the sea, night and storm; his veneration for the great names of the past associated with the cause of freedom. Every one is familiar with his passage on the thunder-storm in the Alps, his apostrophes to the ocean, to Rome, to Venice, to Rousseau.



LORD BYRON
(*From a drawing by Count D'Orsay, in* 1823)

Narratives. Among the most popular of his works with his contemporaries were his tales. Taking his hint from Scott's success in his metrical romances, he chose remote subjects,

mainly from the eastern end of the Mediterranean; and in a meter as fluent as Scott's and with far more sentiment and love-making, he turned out a series of stories which captured the larger public and helped to drive Scott to prose. These poems are no longer so popular as they were a hundred years ago, and critics have long ago pointed out the monotonous similarity of the characters of the heroes of *The Giaour*, *The Corsair*, and the rest to the character of their author, and the lack of mind — or anything but feeling — in the heroines. Yet when one reads them again one cannot fail to acknowledge the amazing ease and fluency of the story-telling, or the eloquence of the lyric passages with which they are interspersed. Of his later tales the best known and the most powerful are *Mazeppa* and *The Prisoner of Chillon*.

Dramas. His dramas in general repeat the themes of his other poems: they either celebrate some struggle for liberty as in *Marino Faliero*, a Venetian historical play, or they picture a gloomy Byronic soul rebelling against mankind or God, or fate or circumstance, as in *Manfred*, and *Cain*. Thus in spite of many splendid speeches, they never achieve the true dramatic quality that requires the creation of a group of clearly presented and distinctly conceived individuals. Like his lyrics they reveal only one man, and that man is Byron.

The place of Byron is not yet fixed. His personality still dazzles; but it is coming to be generally agreed that in the more delicate imaginative qualities of the poet he must rank not first, as he seemed to many of his own time and to himself when he called himself "the great Napoleon of the realms of rhyme," but below Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelley and Keats. On the other hand, such a statement is apt to do less than justice to Byron's positive qualities. He wrote his satire almost as an improviser and consequently missed the firmness of texture of Dryden and the polish and correctness of Pope; but in the vividness of his realism and the intensity of the mood he communicates he is the equal of either, while in range and

vitality of imagination he goes far beyond them. And neither of the elder poets has his engaging recklessness, his rollicking high spirits, or the touch of picturesqueness which accompanies his bitterness and his gloom. However the modern critic may cavil over what Byron lacked, it remains true that no poet of any period embodies in his writing a more interesting personality.

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822)

Life. Shelley came of a rich but undistinguished family in the south of England. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and even as a schoolboy was marked for the independence of his thought and his carelessness of convention. He was early interested in philosophy, and while an undergraduate published a pamphlet on the *Necessity of Atheism*, which led to his expulsion from the University. Going up to London, he visited his sister's boarding-school, and there met a girl of sixteen, Harriet Westbrook, whose unhappiness called forth his pity and led him to make a runaway marriage with her. He was then nineteen. For some time he was actively engaged in trying to spread his radical political opinions by speeches and pamphlets, but later his reforming passion found expression in verse. In a few years he outgrew Harriet and abandoned her. Later he found a more sympathetic soul in Mary Godwin, daughter of the philosopher and novelist, William Godwin, and carried her off to Switzerland, where he invited Harriet to join them. A year later Harriet committed suicide, popular indignation against Shelley rose high, and the courts deprived him of his children. In 1818 he took up his residence in Italy, where he remained for the rest of his life. The history of his later years is chiefly that of his intellectual development and amazing poetical production. In the summer of 1822 he went to Pisa to welcome Leigh Hunt and his family, and returning by sea from Leghorn to Spezzia, he was overtaken by a squall and drowned. His body was cremated and the ashes placed

SHELLEY

in the Protestant cemetery at Rome, near the grave of Keats, whose latest volume was found in his pocket when the body was recovered.

Revolutionary Ideas. Like Byron, Shelley was devoted to the cause of liberty, but his political thinking, if visionary, was more constructive. Both believed that organized government in state and church degraded mankind, and both wished to free it from tyranny. Byron stopped there, but Shelley saw that it would be possible to do without government only when men could live in harmony under the law of love. So, as he grew older, the tendency of his poetry is to put less and less stress on revolutionary politics such as pervaded early poems like *Queen Mab* and *The Masque of Anarchy*, and more and more stress on the conquest of evil and search after perfection in the individual soul. The fullest expression of his mature views is to be found in the lyrical drama, *Prometheus Unbound*.

Lyrical Gift. But interesting as are the politics and philosophy of Shelley, his rank as an artist is dependent less on his schemes of thought than on his marvelous lyrical gift. He was master of a power of melody which in variety, subtlety, and pure beauty is inferior to none; and he used it to express the elemental human feelings of joy, sorrow, yearning, and regret as they have never been expressed save in music. His treatments of common things as in *The Skylark* and *The Cloud* are far from mere description, though he can make use even of scientific facts; they are utterances of the spirit of things, and they show how the desires of his own soul colored his view of all the world, animate and inanimate.

Rough wind, that moanest loud
  Grief too sad for song;
Wild wind, when sullen cloud
  Knells all the night long;
Sad storm, whose tears are vain,
Bare woods, whose branches strain,
Deep caves and dreary main,
  Wail, for the world's wrong!

Here we have a poet depressed by the sense of the suffering and injustice of life, and he finds his mood reflected in external nature. The wind, the clouds, the storm, the woods, the caves, and the sea are all grieving and vainly striving in harmony with him; and if we examine the lines carefully it will be seen that their sounds are chosen and arranged to echo and suggest the depression he seeks to utter. It is only in the last line that the thought becomes explicit; the rest of the poem gives only pictures and sounds that prepare our feeling.

Imagination. Thus, though the poetry of Shelley abounds in natural description, it has not the geographical definiteness of Wordsworth's or Scott's, nor the minute fidelity of Keats's. The landscapes are visions, composed no doubt out of scenes on which his eye had once rested, but heightened and combined to an unearthly splendor, and suffused with emotion. For their appreciation there is needed an imaginative responsiveness in the reader, and this necessity has prevented Shelley from acquiring at any time such popularity as was enjoyed by Scott and Byron. To his devoted admirers he is the most poetical of poets; to less sympathetic critics he is, in Matthew Arnold's words, "a beautiful and ineffectual angel."

The Cenci and Adonais. In two of his poems Shelley attempted to deal with reality in a more substantial fashion. His drama, *The Cenci*, is based upon a frightful story of crime in Italy and is in method largely influenced by the Elizabethans and especially Shakespeare. In it he surprises us with the distinctness of his characters and the dramatic effectiveness of the situations, while the speeches are appropriate without ceasing to be poetical. It is one of the greatest tragedies of the nineteenth century. The other poem, *Adonais*, is a pastoral elegy on the death of Keats, but his sympathy and indignation were aroused by the story that Keats's death was hastened by the attacks of the reviewers, and the poem is filled with powerful emotion. Towards the end it ceases to be merely a lament for Keats, and becomes a glorious proclamation of the immortality

of the poet in general, and the freedom of the poet's spirit from the sullying touch of earth. Nowhere has modern poetry soared higher than in the closing stanzas of *Adonais*.

That Light whose smile kindles the Universe,
That Beauty in which all things work and move,
That Benediction which the eclipsing Curse
Of birth can quench not, that sustaining Love
Which through the web of being blindly wove
By man and beast and earth and air and sea,
Burns bright or dim, as each are mirrors of
The fire for which all thirst, now beams on me,
Consuming the last clouds of cold mortality.

The breath whose might I have invoked in song
Descends on me; my spirit's bark is driven,
Far from the shore, far from the trembling throng
Whose sails were never to the tempest given;
The massy earth and spherèd skies are riven!
I am borne darkly, fearfully, afar;
Whilst burning through the inmost veil of Heaven,
The soul of Adonais, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are.

John Keats (1795–1821)

Life. John Keats, whose death at the age of twenty-five was so magnificently lamented by Shelley in *Adonais*, was born in London in 1795, the son of a livery stable keeper. He was sent to a good school, where he remained till his parents died; then, at fifteen, he was apprenticed to a surgeon. His term of service was five years, after which he was assistant in hospitals, apparently fulfilling his duties satisfactorily. But a copy of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* lent to him by a friend, had opened the gates of the world of poetry, and henceforth his desire was to travel in those "realms of gold." He gave up his profession, read widely in the chief English poets, and did everything in his power to prepare himself to be their worthy successor. He published three small volumes in 1817, 1818, and 1820, which

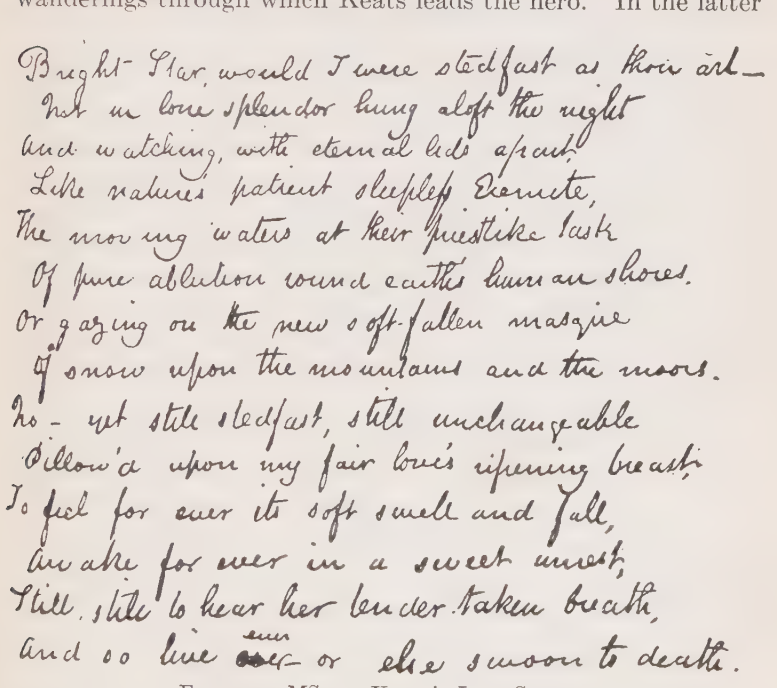
called forth violent attacks from *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Quarterly Review;* but a select group of more sensitive readers recognized in him a poet of great and original genius. A severe cold, caught on a walking tour, developed into consumption; he traveled to Italy in the vain hope of cure, and died in Rome early in 1821. He is buried there in the Protestant cemetery near the ashes of Shelley. His grave bears the inscription he himself dictated:

Here lies one whose name is writ in water.

His Promise. The pathos of Keats's death and a mistaken idea of the effect of adverse criticism upon him have tended to produce a sentimental attitude towards him and a false view of his character. There is no necessary connection between delicacy of body and effeminacy of spirit; and there is evidence enough that Keats was as a boy high-spirited and even pugnacious, as a man courageous, determined to make the most of his powers, and his own most severe critic. His death was a real calamity to English poetry; for though in the picturing of natural beauty it is hard to see how he could have surpassed what he has left us, his intellectual powers were only beginning to expand.

First Volume. The three volumes published in his lifetime and the poems collected after his death show a steady ripening of his talent. In the first volume there are abundant echoes of his predecessors, especially of Spenser, whose gorgeous tapestries and drowsy melody had captivated him even in boyhood. There are numerous faults in taste, partly the result of bad models, partly of a youthful luxuriating in the delights the physical world presented to his senses. There is too free a use of words like "lush"; a tendency to let the rime lead instead of express the thought. But already there is evidence of a close and fresh power of observation, and of great happiness in phrasing delightful sights and sounds.

Endymion. The second volume contained the long poem, *Endymion*, telling the Greek myth of the shepherd of Mount Latmos whom the moon-goddess loved. The scanty plot is eked out with a number of other classical stories and lavishly embroidered with decorative descriptions of the marvelous wanderings through which Keats leads the hero. In the latter


Bright Star, would I were stedfast as thou art—
Not in lone splendor hung aloft the night
And watching, with eternal lids apart,
Like nature's patient sleepless Eremite,
The moving waters at their priestlike task
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores.
Or gazing on the new soft-fallen mask
Of snow upon the mountains and the moors.
No—yet still stedfast, still unchangeable
Pillow'd upon my fair love's ripening breast,
To feel for ever its soft swell and fall,
Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,
Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,
And so live ever—or else swoon to death.

Facsimile MS. of Keats's Last Sonnet

part the poem becomes an allegory in which Keats's love of physical beauty, symbolized by the moon, his love of spiritual beauty, symbolized by the goddess, and his love of woman, symbolized by the Indian maid, are finally found to be really one passion. But this idea is tangled and obscured by a mass of detail in which structure is all but lost; and most readers turn to *Endymion* to enjoy detached passages of description

rather than to follow the thought. Its most famous lines, those with which it opens, express one of Keats's most profound convictions:

> A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
> Its loveliness increases; it will never
> Pass into nothingness.

The 1820 Volume. A great advance of artistic power appears in the third volume. It contains, first, three fine narratives, *Lamia*, the story of a serpent-woman, laid in ancient Corinth; the *Eve of St. Agnes*, a gorgeous medieval love story; and *Isabella*, a tragic story of Boccaccio's, in which the ghastly theme of a woman, who, crazed by the murder of her lover, grows a plant in a pot containing his head, is made beautiful by lovely ornament and melodious verse. More perfect still are the odes, *To a Nightingale*, *On a Grecian Urn*, *To Autumn*, and *To Psyche*, in which his richness of feeling, delicacy of imagination, and beauty of image and phrase reach their height. In the epic fragment of *Hyperion* the masculine influence of Milton is felt. The vastness of the conception of the dethroned gods, the statue-like grandeur of the figures, and the noble movement of the blank verse raise this poem, and with it our conception of what Keats could do and might have done, above even the exquisiteness of the odes. It was Shelley's appreciation of *Hyperion* that made *Adonais* possible. No better example of the workmanship of Keats can be found than the opening of this poem.

> Deep in the shady sadness of a vale
> Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,
> Far from the fiery noon, and eve's one star,
> Sat gray-hair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone,
> Still as the silence round about his lair;
> Forest on forest hung about his head
> Like cloud on cloud. No stir of air was there,
> Not so much life as on a summer's day
> Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass,

But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest.
A stream went voiceless by, still deadened more
By reason of his fallen divinity
Spreading a shade: the Naiad 'mid her reeds
Press'd her cold finger closer to her lips.

If we study the use of alliteration here, the effect of the s's and f's in evoking the sense of stillness, the gradations with which the vowel sounds melt into each other like exquisitely harmonized colors in painting, we can begin to realize what is meant by the development of English poetry since the poet of *Beowulf* hammered out his rudely effective alliterative lines.

When Keats dropped *Hyperion* and tried to rewrite it, he made it clear that he realized that for his further progress he needed more knowledge of life and a more intimate intercourse with his fellow-men. This was not to be; but his twenty-five short years sufficed for the production of a body of poetry in which he expressed his sense of the delight that could come, not only through the eye and the ear, but through the senses of touch, and taste, and smell; and he did this in a manner which has affected the description of nature in English poetry ever since.

Minor Poets

Such are the greater poets of the romantic period, and outside of the drama there is no such group to be found in any age. Among them, and in the eyes of the men of the time equal to them, were many writers whom we now recognize to have been far inferior, but who yet left poems we should be loath to miss. Such were Thomas Moore, the friend and biographer of Byron, who sought to do for the songs of Ireland what Burns did for the songs of Scotland; Thomas Campbell, whose war songs, like *Ye Mariners of England* and *The Battle of the Baltic*, are among the best of their kind; James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, who surpassed himself in his charming fairy poem *Kilmeny* and wrote some good Jacobite songs; and Robert Southey,

the brother-in-law of Coleridge. Southey was extremely productive, wrote epics by the half-dozen which nobody now reads, and a biography or two, notably a *Life of Nelson* and a *Life of Wesley* which still hold their public. He died poet-laureate, after a long life of honest labor; but his work remains a proof that industry and fluency are not enough to make a great poet.

Landor. Contemporary with all these poets, and surviving to be the friend of Browning and Swinburne, stands the lonely figure of Walter Savage Landor. A passionate and eccentric member of society, Landor in his art showed some of the imaginative awakening of the romantic movement; but in the clear outlines and condensed expression of his best work obtained results that force us to call him Greek. He is at his best in little personal poems, full of feeling but perfect in the restraint of their form.

Ah, what avails the sceptred race,
  Ah, what the form divine!
What every virtue, every grace!
  Rose Aylmer, all were thine!

Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
  May weep, but never see,
A night of memories and of sighs
  I consecrate to thee.

Blake. Apart from these men and the other literary groups of his time was the poet, artist, and engraver, William Blake (1757–1827). A man of extraordinary powers, Blake was so dominated by his imagination, and his imagination was so little controlled by fact or logic, that his work at times loses contact altogether with ordinary human experience. Some of Blake's contemporaries doubted his sanity; and the modern reader who attempts to follow his "prophetic" books, such as *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* will not be at a loss to understand their reasons. But in his *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience* are many lyrics of a charming simplicity of utter-

ance though often with much subtlety of thought, and a quite individual kind of music.

Conclusion. The death of Scott in 1832 is often taken as marking the close of the romantic period, though Coleridge lived till 1834 and Wordsworth, his work long done, till 1850. But the romantic period has not closed yet. However individual we may find the poets of the next age, and whatever new themes and methods they adopted, we are not faced in the second half of the nineteenth century with any such revolt against the first half as marks the passage from the age of Pope to the age of Wordsworth. The Victorian poets are the heirs of their immediate predecessors, and the romanticist emphasis on imagination, on the faithful description of nature, on the interest in the medieval, and on the expression of the individual soul, remains felt down to our own day.

Guides to Study

Reading. The selections from Cowper, Crabbe, Burns, Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Landor, Southey, Moore, Campbell, Hogg, in the collections are generally adequate. The following longer poems should be included: Tam O' Shanter, The Cotter's Saturday Night, The Rime of the Ancient Mariner, Christabel, Ode on Intimations of Immortality, The Lady of the Lake, or Marmion, The Prisoner of Chillon, Childe Harold, Canto IV, Adonais, Eve of St. Agnes. For this period and the next, C. H. Page's British Poets of the Nineteenth Century contains very generous selections from the chief poets, and lists of good critical essays.

For historical and biographical matter see end of next chapter.

Questions. What were the great outstanding events at the close of the eighteenth century? What principles underlay both the American and the French Revolution? How did the later stages of the latter differ from the earlier stages? What caused an industrial revolution in England? What endangered the principles of liberty? What rescued them?

What is meant by "Gothicism"? Name some other tendencies carried over into the so-called Romantic period. Distinguish between classicism, realism, and romanticism. Mention five tendencies that characterize Romanticism.

Why is William Cowper called a forerunner of the Romantic move-

ment? Illustrate by a poem. What service did Crabbe perform for poetry? Give the dates and chief events of Byron's life. With what kind of poetry did he win his first success? Name some of his predecessors in this kind. In what respects does The Cotter's Saturday Night follow new tendencies? Quote from it. What forms Burns's greatest achievement? Quote one of his lyrics.

What date marks the culmination of Romantic tendencies? Give Wordsworth's dates. What was his theory of "poetic diction"? What was his theory of the treatment of human nature? What poem exemplifies both theories? Does he succeed? Why? What was his philosophy of nature? Name two poems illustrative of it. Upon what does his fame depend? What is the nature of Wordsworth's long poems? Tell what you can of Coleridge's boyhood. Describe his relations with Wordsworth and Southey. What was Coleridge's aim in his share of the Lyrical Ballads? What Romantic tendencies are shown in Christabel, Kubla Khan, and The Ancient Mariner? What is his idea of freedom? Contrast his attitude toward nature with Wordsworth's. What poet of this period first attained the greatest popularity? Account for this fact. Give the influences in his life that greatly influenced his authorship. On what was his early reputation based? On what his later fame? Give the story of Scott's last years. Describe his character. Give the best qualities of the poems. On what poems is his highest rating likely to rest? Quote one.

What were Byron's dates? What were his early influences? What kind of poetry was the result? Why is he ranked among the Romanticists? What poems are the result of his life on the Continent? What was his service to liberalism? Describe his character. Give an example of each of the five types of Byron's poetry, and show the characteristics of each. What is his place as a poet? How much younger than Byron was Shelley? How did his aims resemble Byron's? Why do we call him a Romanticist? How was his political thinking more constructive than Byron's? Where is the maturest expression of his political views found? What was his greatest gift? Illustrate. Quote A Dirge. What mood does he find in nature? Contrast it with what Wordsworth found. What was the peculiar quality of his imagination? What did Shelley accomplish in drama? in elegy? Find the highest qualities of his poetry in some passage that you will read aloud.

Compare the dates of Shelley and Keats. Compare their external circumstances. What qualities does the first volume of Keats's poetry exhibit? What qualities are found in Endymion? What increase of power is found in the third volume? Mention four poems you have read, characterizing each. Study a passage for the effect of vowels and consonants. In what respects have many later poets imitated Keats?

Mention three minor poets of the Romantic period. Read some poems of William Blake and characterize them. Is Landor a Romanticist? Reasons? Summarize the main tendencies of poetry in the Romantic period, and tell which have come down to our own day.

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. Industrial Conditions at the Close of the French Revolution. Cowper as a Letter Writer. Why Burns is the Best Loved of Lyric Poets. Great Lines from Wordsworth. Wordsworth's Philosophy of Nature. The Person Who Interrupted Kubla Khan. Byron's Power of Natural Description. A Day with Shelley and Byron. The Qualities of Romantic Poetry. Blake's Songs of Innocence. Campbell's War Songs. Scott's Lyrics.

Chronological Table, 1785–1832

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1785. Cowper, *The Task.* Crabbe, *The Newspaper.*		1784. William Pitt, prime minister.
1786. Burns, *Poems.* Beckford, *Vathek.*		1786. Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
	1787. Goethe, *Iphigenia.* Schiller, *Don Carlos.*	
1788. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, last 3 vols.	1788. St. Pierre, *Paul and Virginia.*	
1789. Blake, *Songs of Innocence.*		1789. Storming of the Bastille, July 14. Washington, first president of United States.
1790. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*		
1791. Boswell, *Life of Dr. Johnson.* Tom Paine, *Rights of Man*, vol. i.		1791. Mirabeau died.
1792. Young, *Travels in France.*		1792. France a republic. September Massacres.
1793. Godwin, *Political Justice.* Wordsworth, *Descriptive Sketches.*		1793. Execution of Louis XVI. War declared by French Republic against England.
1794. Godwin, *Caleb Williams.* Ann Radcliffe, *Mysteries of Udolpho.* Gibbon died.		1794. Fall of Robespierre.
1795. M. G. Lewis, *The Monk.*	1795. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister*, part i.	1795. Third Partition of Poland.
1796. Southey, *Joan of Arc.* Burns died.		1796. Bonaparte invades Italy.
1797. *The Anti-Jacobin.* Burke died.		
1798. Wordsworth and Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads.* Landor, *Gebir.*	1798. Schiller, *Wallensteins Lager.* Goethe, *Hermann und Dorothea.*	1798. Battle of the Nile.
	1799. Balzac born.	1799. Bonaparte first consul. Washington died.
1800. Coleridge, trans. Schiller's *Wallenstein.* Maria Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent.*	1800. Heine born. Schiller, *Maria Stuart.*	1800. Act of Union with Ireland. French victories of Hohenlinden and Marengo.
1801. Hogg, *Scottish Pastorals.* Southey, *Thalaba.*	1801. Chateaubriand, *Atala.*	1801. Battle of Copenhagen.
1802. Scott, *Minstrelsy. Edinburgh Review.*	1802. Victor Hugo born.	1802. Treaty of Amiens. The first Factory Act.
1803. Jane Porter, *Thaddeus of Warsaw.*		1803. War with France again. Louisiana purchase.
	1804. Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell.* Kant died.	1804. Bonaparte Emperor.
1805. Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel.*	1805. Schiller died. Hans Christian Andersen born.	1805. Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz.
	1806. Mme. De Staël, *Corinne.*	1806. Death of Pitt. Battle of Jena.
1807. Byron, *Hours of Idleness.* Lamb, *Specimens of Dramatic Poets.*		1807. Abolition of Slave Trade. Treaty of Tilsit.
1808. L. Hunt, *The Examiner.* Scott, *Marmion. Quarterly Review.*	1808. Goethe, *Faust* (Part I).	1808. Peninsular War begins.

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1809. Byron, *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.*	1809. Darwin, Gladstone, Lincoln, Poe, Tennyson, born.	1809. Battle of Corunna.
1811. Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility.*		
1812. Byron, *Childe Harold*, I and II. Dickens born.	1812. Grimm Brothers, *Fairy Tales.*	1812. War between England and U. S. A.
1813. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice.* Byron, *Giaour* and *Bride of Abydos.* Shelley, *Queen Mab.*		1813. Battle of Leipzig.
1814. Byron, *Corsair, Lara.* Scott, *Waverley.* Wordsworth, *The Excursion.*		1814. First Peace of Paris. Congress of Vienna. Stephenson's locomotive.
1815. Scott, *Guy Mannering.*		1815. Battle of Waterloo. Holy Alliance.
1816. Jane Austen, *Emma.* Byron, *Childe Harold*, III. Coleridge, *Christabel.* Scott, *Antiquary, Old Mortality.* Shelley, *Alastor.*		
1817. Byron, *Manfred.* Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria.* Keats, *Poems.* *Blackwood's Magazine.*	1817. Bryant, *Thanatopsis.*	
1818. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey, Persuasion.* Keats, *Endymion.* Scott, *Heart of Midlothian.*	1818. Turgenieff born.	
1819. Byron, *Don Juan*, I and II. Scott, *Bride of Lammermoor.* Shelley, *The Cenci.*	1819. Washington Irving, *Sketch Book.*	1819. Manchester (Peterloo) Massacre.
1820. Keats, *Poems.* Lamb, *Essays of Elia* begun. Scott, *Ivanhoe.* Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound.*		1820. George IV.
1821. Byron, *Cain.* De Quincey, *Opium Eater.* Keats died. Shelley, *Adonais.*	1821. Cooper, *The Spy.*	1821–1825. Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Peru independent.
1822. Shelley died.		
1823. Scott, *Quentin Durward.*		
1824. Landor, *Imaginary Conversations*, vols. i and ii. Byron died.		
1825. Hazlitt, *Spirit of the Age.* Macaulay, *Essay on Milton.* Scott, *Talisman.*		
1826. Disraeli, *Vivian Grey.*	1826. Cooper, *Last of the Mohicans.*	
1827. Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather.*	1827. Heine, *Songs.*	1827. Battle of Navarino.
1828. Scott, *Fair Maid of Perth.*	1828. Victor Hugo, *Cromwell.*	1829. Catholic Emancipation Act.
1830. Tennyson, *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical.*		1830. William IV. Revolution in France.
1831. Peacock, *Crotchet Castle.*	1831. Hugo, *Notre Dame.* Poe, *The Raven.*	
1832. Scott and Crabbe died.	1832. Goethe died.	1832. Reform Bill passed.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PROSE OF THE ROMANTIC PERIOD, 1785-1832

INTRODUCTION.

PERIODICALS AND THEIR WRITERS. The Reviews. Journalism. The Review Article. Whig and Tory Critics. Coleridge and Appreciative Criticism. The New Appreciation of Shakespeare. Coleridge as Teacher. Charles Lamb. Lamb as a Critic. The *Essays of Elia*. Lamb as a Romanticist. Lamb as a Humorist. Hazlitt. His Essays. A Man of Taste. De Quincey. Leigh Hunt. Landor. *The Imaginary Conversations*.

THE NOVEL. A Popular Form of Literature. The Gothic Romances. Historical Fiction. Novels with a Purpose. Maria Edgeworth. Jane Austen. A Master of Realism.

SIR WALTER SCOTT. His Character. The Waverley Novels. The Historical Novel. His Methods of Fiction. Faults and Merits. *Ivanhoe*. *The Talisman*. The King of Romancers. The Glory of the Past. His Characterization. *The Heart of Midlothian*.

Introduction. In prose as well as poetry this period was one of revolution in literature, of rebellion against the old standards of classicism, and the establishment of individual freedom in the world of the imagination. Instead of trying to write in accordance with rules and models, men wrote to please themselves; and in Lamb, Hazlitt, and De Quincey, prose style became the expression of personality. The character of prose writing, however, was determined in large measure by the continued increase of periodicals and of novels. Virtually all of the prose literature of the period will be comprised in our survey if we look first at the reviews and magazines and second at the novel. There were, of course, many books which were not fiction and did not appear first in the journals, but there was scarcely a prose writer of any importance who was not either a novelist or a contributor to the reviews.

Periodicals and Their Writers

The Reviews. Periodicals of one sort or another, as we have seen, attained great importance in the eighteenth century, but they advanced a further step with the establishment of *The Edinburgh Review* in 1802. A group of clever young men with Francis Jeffrey at the head planned a review which should be independent of the booksellers, should pay well for all articles, and should seek an authoritative position as critic of all new books. The literary dictatorship which had been left vacant by the death of Dr. Johnson was thus seized upon by these young writers and for a time exercised with great effectiveness. Every one read *The Edinburgh Review*, and the sale of every new book depended partly on its verdict. As the editors were Whigs, it soon betrayed a political partisanship, and the Tories, Canning, Gifford, Scott, and Southey, joined in support of a Tory organ, *The Quarterly Review*, in 1809. In the same year Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* appeared as a radical journal. From this time on reviews multiplied. *Blackwood's Magazine* was aggressively Tory; the *London Magazine* within the year 1820–1821 published Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* and Hazlitt's *Table Talk* — a record year for any magazine; in 1820, Shelley, Byron, and Leigh Hunt united in the short-lived *Liberal;* and in 1824 *The Westminster Review* was founded as the organ of the Utilitarians.

Journalism. These were all journals for the educated and well-to-do. There were also periodicals aiming at a more popular appeal. The stamp tax still kept the price of the daily papers high and their circulation small — only a few thousand copies of *The Times* at sixpence were sold of the issue that announced the victory of Waterloo. But a great success in popular journalism was made by Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*, which in 1817 reached a sale of fifty thousand copies. William Cobbett was a journalist who in versatility and industry rivaled Defoe, and won fame both in the United States, where

he lived for a time, and in England. He was always in hot water and frequently changed sides in order to get in hotter; but in the main his paper was a most vigorous popular advocate of reform.

The Review Article. The periodicals were not merely forums for political discussion and personal abuse, of which they printed a good deal; nor were they merely leaders of opinion in criticism and literature. They furnished a welcome to many old forms of literature and created one new form. Essays, poems, stories, all found their way into the journals, although they were at first usually closed to fiction. An author with a novelty like *The Confessions of an Opium Eater* or an *Essay of Elia* might have difficulty in finding a publisher who would risk a book, but he was pretty sure of finding some editor who would risk a place in his review. Young writers thus found a readier way to get at the public than had previously existed. The new form of literature introduced was the review article. It was supposed to be a review of a new book and usually devoted some space to this task; but it often turns from the new publication to discuss whatever subjects the writer deems apposite. Macaulay's *Essay on Boswell's Johnson* is an example. It begins with a review of Croker's new edition, which Macaulay smashes in a few pages, and then goes on to say what Macaulay wished to about Boswell and Johnson. A review article, then, might be an extended discussion of almost any topic — literary, historical, political, or educational, the book reviewed serving often merely as a text.

Whig and Tory Critics. In *The Edinburgh Review* the chief writer on literary topics was Francis Jeffrey. He was by no means a classicist and found enjoyment in many of the romantic poets, in Burns, Cowper, and Scott; but he was a Whig in literature as in politics, that is, he was distrustful of rapid change and inclined to judge everything on the basis of common sense. His method in criticism was that of Dr. Johnson; he acted as judge, and the poets were before him for a verdict. A good deal

of his criticism is sensible enough; but he is chiefly remembered because of his utter inability to appreciate Wordsworth. If Jeffrey's attitude toward much of the new poetry was hostile, that of the Tories was worse. The *Anti-Jacobin* edited by Canning contains some amusing ridicule of Coleridge and Southey; and the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood's* joined in the harshest condemnation of the poems of Keats.

Coleridge and Appreciative Criticism. Evidently the new poetry needed a new criticism, and this was provided by Coleridge in the *Biographia Literaria* in his elaborate interpretation of the poetry of Wordsworth. Coleridge led the way in a new method in criticism, which sought not to judge but to appreciate and interpret. According to his view the poet was a creator, bringing to life ideas in forms of enduring beauty. The critic was an assistant in the work of creation, interpreting ideas and beauty for the benefit of other readers. The poet as a man of genius had a finer and truer perception of truth than other men, and he must be allowed to present this truth in his own way without regard to rules or models. The critic, who must also have this god-given imaginative grasp of truth, should enter into the poet's purpose and art, and give what aid his personality afforded to making the poet's message clearer. From this point of view poetry was less a matter of particular lines or poems than of the poet's personality; so all of the works of an author must be studied in order to understand both the personality behind them and its philosophy or message to the world.

The New Appreciation of Shakespeare. This appreciative method of criticism has been the prevailing one through the nineteenth century. Coleridge led also in applying this method to Shakespeare, although here he had been preceded by some English writers and by the German Schlegel. Shakespeare, for Coleridge, is the greatest of geniuses, and everything in his plays is to be the object of study and appreciation. It is easy to see that this leads to indiscriminate idolatry, and to praising things in Shakespeare which the critic has put there himself. In fact,

the great defect of appreciative criticism is that it depends so entirely on the personality of the critic. He gives us his knowledge or ignorance, his likes or prejudices, and conducts us on his own personal tour of adventure. Coleridge's criticism, however, was of great service in emphasizing the cardinal tenet of romanticism, that imaginative genius is a law to itself, and in initiating a great body of criticism that is sympathetically interpretative of literature. Lamb and Hazlitt are his disciples both in their enthusiastic and interpretative adoration of Shakespeare and in their appreciation of the great poetry that was being written in their own time.

Coleridge as Teacher. Coleridge's other prose works belong to the realm of theology and philosophy as well as literature. As he lost faith in his early radicalism, he came to find a defense for the old and established order in many respects resembling Burke's theory of the organic growth of institutions. From the German philosophers he also received the conception of a continuous existence of ideals, an unbroken life of the spirit which manifested itself in persons, institutions, or affairs. To a closer communion with this underlying spiritual reality, poets and great men were our guides. Institutions, as church, government, society, might be the necessary forms in which the spiritual life continued. Hence Coleridge became a teacher to young men of the worth and meaning to be found in old forms and of the danger of too great innovations.

Charles Lamb. Charles Lamb (1775–1834) was a lifelong friend of Coleridge, with whom he was at school at Christ's Hospital, and under whose tutelage he began writing verses and stories. When Lamb was twenty-one he suffered a temporary derangement of mind, and in the same year his sister Mary, who had been devoted to him from his infancy, became suddenly insane and killed their own mother. From this dreadful catastrophe, Lamb's character emerged full-formed. He took charge of his failing father and after a time obtained permission for his sister to live with him. Her malady frequently returned,

but always with due warning, when brother and sister would be seen walking together to the asylum, both weeping bitterly. For the rest of the time Lamb drudged faithfully as clerk in the India House, and spent evenings and holidays with his books, his friends, and his sister. And there were no livelier, brighter, more lovable persons in all England than Charles and Mary Lamb.

CHARLES LAMB

(From a sketch by Brook Pulham)

Lamb as a Critic. As a student of literature Lamb shared the enthusiasm of the romanticists, but few men have ever read with finer discrimination. He was the one man in England to select *Tintern Abbey* and the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* as the two best poems in *The Lyrical Ballads*, and he was prompt to protest when Wordsworth decked out *The Ancient Mariner* with a moralizing explanation. He was an appreciative critic, loving to search out hidden beauties among his favorites, the Elizabethan dramatists or the prose writers of the seventeenth century. He was fond of pressing a paradox, as

that the tragedies of Shakespeare cannot be acted or that the Restoration comedies are not immoral; but his literary essays and his *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* contain some of the most sympathetic appreciations in our language.

The Essays of Elia. As an essayist, Lamb was a romanticist. As Wordsworth and Coleridge gave poetry a new expression, so Lamb made prose personal, whimsical, full of figure and fancy, something quite different from the model style of Addison or Goldsmith. The essay in his hands bears little resemblance to that in the *Spectator* or the *Rambler*. Lamb never selects the subjects which would seem suitable for a discussion. He writes on Chimney Sweeps, Mrs. Battle on Whist, or the Old Benchers in the Temple Gardens. When Addison wishes to be solemn he takes as his theme Westminster Abbey; Lamb takes Old China. The subject is nothing but a starting point for the expression of personality. From the *Essays of Elia* we learn all about Lamb, his schooldays in Christ's Hospital, his sister (Bridget Elia), his family, his cronies, his evenings of whist, cold meat, and hot potatoes, his rambles in the country, his likes and dislikes, his habits and crotchets. He is not telling us anything that we ought to know, he is chatting with us as friends whom he has taken to his heart.

Lamb as a Romanticist. He is the romanticist of the city. Where Wordsworth and Shelley went to the mountains and lakes for revelations of spirit, Lamb's imagination was fed by the theaters and shops and busy streets of London. It was the city that Swift and Johnson had loved and written about, but Lamb found there unsuspected sources of sentiment and undiscovered incentives to fancy. His habitual paths along its thoroughfares or byways became for him as radiant as the walks along Grasmere or up the steeps of Snowdon, only for him the radiance that made romance out of reality came not from sunsets or daffodils but from human companionship and associations. As he wrote once, when he was a little vexed at Wordsworth's lecturing,

I have passed all my days in London, until I have formed as many and intense local attachments as any of you mountaineers can have done with dead Nature. The lighted shops of the Strand and Fleet Street; the innumerable trades, tradesmen, and customers, coaches, wagons, playhouses; all the bustle and wickedness round about Covent Garden; the very women of the Town; the watchmen, drunken scenes, rattles; life awake, if you awake, at all hours of the night; the impossibility of being dull in Fleet Street; the crowds, the very dirt and mud, the sun shining upon houses and pavements, the print-shops, the old bookstalls, parsons cheapening books, coffee-houses, steams of soups from kitchens, the pantomimes — London itself a pantomime and a masquerade — all these things work themselves into my mind, and feed me, without a power of satiating me. The wonder of these sights impels me into night-walks about her crowded streets, and I often shed tears in the motley Strand from fullness of joy at so much life. All these emotions must be strange to you; so are your rural emotions to me. But consider, what must I have been doing all my life, not to have lent great portions of my heart with usury to such scenes?

My attachments are all local, purely local. I have no passion (or have had none since I was in love, and then it was the spurious engendering of poetry and books) for groves and valleys. The rooms where I was born, the furniture which has been before my eyes all my life, a bookcase which has followed me about like a faithful dog (only exceeding him in knowledge) wherever I have moved, old chairs, old tables, streets, squares, where I have sunned myself, my old school — these are my mistresses. Have I not enough without your mountains?

Lamb as a Humorist. Lamb was a letter writer as well as an essayist, and there are some who prefer his letters even to his essays. They are less finished, less crammed with literary allusions, more boyish, sportful, and fully as humorous. It is as a humorist that Elia must be ranked. There is no other humorist like him; no one with his high spirits and delicacy, his fun and kindliness, his stuttering whimsicality and his wit. He might be styled the romanticist of humorists, for he finds mirth where no one else finds it, and he turns everything to jest through the joyousness of his own personality. An hour spent with the *Essays of Elia* or with the Letters leaves us with a taste in the mouth, a "tickling pleasure" like that which he ascribes to roast pig.

He must be roasted. I am not ignorant that our ancestors ate them seethed, or boiled — but what a sacrifice of the exterior tegument!

There is no flavor comparable, I will contend, to that of the crisp, tawny, well-watched, not over-roasted, *crackling*, as it is well called — the very teeth are invited to their share of the pleasures of this banquet in overcoming the coy, brittle resistance — with the adhesive oleaginous — O call it not fat! but an indefinable sweetness growing up to it — the tender blossoming of fat — fat cropped in the bud — taken in the shoot — in the first innocence — the cream and quintessence of the child-pig's yet pure food — the lean, no lean, but a kind of animal manna — or, rather, fat and lean (if it must be so) so blended and running into each other, that both together make but one ambrosian result or common substance. . . .

See him in the dish, his second cradle, how meek he lieth! — wouldst thou have had this innocent grow up to the grossness and indocility which too often accompany maturer swinehood? Ten to one he would have proved a glutton, a sloven, an obstinate, disagreeable animal — wallowing in all manner of filthy conversation — from these sins he is happily snatched away —

> Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade,
> Death came with timely care —

his memory is odoriferous — no clown curseth, while his stomach half rejecteth the rank bacon — no coalheaver bolteth him in reeking sausage — he hath a fair sepulchre in the grateful stomach of the judicious epicure — and for such a tomb might be content to die.

Hazlitt. William Hazlitt (1778–1830), like his friend Charles Lamb, was a disciple of Coleridge and a critic and essayist of the romantic school. When he was twenty Coleridge came to preach in his father's pulpit and awoke him to life and poetry as he has described in his essay on *My First Acquaintance with Poets*. It was not until a dozen years later that he made his way as a newspaper reporter, dramatic critic, and writer for the reviews. Of his literary criticism two volumes are representative, his *Characters of Shakespeare* and *The Spirit of the Age*. He knew Shakespeare's characters both as a reader and as a constant playgoer, and he was one of the first to write about them as if they were real persons.

His Essays. *The Spirit of the Age* is a collection of essays about contemporary writers. His estimates are affected by

his prejudices, for he held decided views on all subjects and personal animosities against many men, especially William Gifford, the editor of *The Quarterly;* but the book is a remarkably discriminating survey of the literature of his epoch. His essays were collected in various volumes. They deal with a very wide range of subjects, *Going to a Fight, Why Heroes of Romance are Insipid, On the Indian Jugglers, Of Persons One Would Wish to Have Seen,* or anything which interested Hazlitt personally. They are written in a prose that has influenced many nineteenth century writers from Carlyle to Stevenson. It may be said to set a fashion for the century, as Addison's did for the century before. Essentially the style is descriptive, it aims to make us see and feel what he sees and feels; it abounds in figures, images, and it unites with a vigorous animation a remarkable picturesqueness of phrase. A single quotation may indicate his quality both as a stylist and a critic.

> Hamlet is a name; his speeches and sayings but the idle coinage of the poet's brain. What then, are they not real? They are as real as our own thoughts. Their reality is in the reader's mind. It is *We* who are Hamlet. This play has a prophetic truth, which is above that of history. Whoever has become thoughtful and melancholy through his own mishaps or those of others; whoever has borne about with him the clouded brow of reflection, and thought himself "too much i' th' sun"; whoever has seen the golden lamp of day dimmed by envious mists rising in his own breast, and could find in the world before him only a dull blank with nothing left remarkable in it; whoever has known "the pangs of despised love, the insolence of office, or the spurns which patient merit of the unworthy takes," he who has felt his mind sink within him, and sadness cling to his heart like a malady, who has had his hopes blighted and his youth staggered by the apparitions of strange things; who cannot be well at ease, while he sees evil hovering near him like a spectre; whose powers of action have been eaten up by thought, he to whom the universe seems infinite, and himself nothing; whose bitterness of soul makes him careless of consequences, and who goes to a play as his best resource to shove off, to a second remove, the evils of life by a mock representation of them — this is the true Hamlet.

A Man of Taste. Hazlitt was a touchy and suspicious person who liked to stand alone against the world. In his essay on

Pleasures of Hating he says truly, "I have quarreled with almost all of my old friends." He could not get along with either of the women he married, and he even had a quarrel with Charles Lamb. Yet his last words were, "Well, I've had a happy life." That it was a happy life, we may readily believe because of the intense zest with which Hazlitt enjoyed so many things — from playing at racquets to studying philosophy. He writes solely about his personal experiences, his adventures in reading, in thinking, or in seeing, and he succeeds in carrying over his emotions to his readers. He was a man of taste, an appreciative critic of both literature and life.

De Quincey. Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859), like Lamb and Hazlitt, was first aroused to an interest in literature by Coleridge, and became a writer of miscellaneous articles for periodicals. He was a precocious and studious child who could converse fluently in Greek at fifteen. At seventeen he ran away from school, tramped about Wales, and finally reached London, where he lived for a time among the outcasts of society. He became reconciled with his family, went to Oxford, and in 1807 met Coleridge, who was returning from Malta broken in health and spirits. De Quincey gave Coleridge £300 anonymously, and escorted Mrs. Coleridge and the children to Grasmere, where he met Wordsworth, and was soon established in Dove Cottage, which had been vacated by the poet. De Quincey had taken opium for some years but he now began to use the drug in excess. He succeeded in reducing the quantity after his marriage in 1816 to the daughter of a neighboring farmer. The habit soon got the better of him again, and his property was lost by improvidence and generosity. In 1821 he went to London to earn a living by his pen, gaining an immediate success by his *Confessions of an Opium Eater* in the *London Magazine*. Henceforth he wrote constantly for the magazines, for a while in London, and then in Edinburgh, where his family joined him. De Quincey was the kindest of fathers, but he needed all the care his children could give him. He had relapses

to excess in the use of opium, and with age grew more and more eccentric. In his last years he would stay in one lodging until books and papers had accumulated, then lock the door and move on to another. Six of these rooms were discovered when he died.

All these facts and many more in regard to De Quincey's life and character are to be found in his writings. Like Lamb and Hazlitt, he was frankly personal, and his best essays are autobiographical. He wrote, however, on a great number of subjects and often so discursively that he never fairly reached the subject which he proposed. Though his intellect was acute and subtle, he is at his best when he leaves the world of fact and leads us into his dreams and visions. Like Lamb and Hazlitt again, he was an innovator in style. He imitated the seventeenth century prose writers, as Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne, and he gave his prose almost all the qualities usually distinctive of poetry — rhythm, metaphor, imagery. He will be best remembered in his passages of stately rhetoric or of what he called "the department of impassioned prose" to be found in *The Confessions, Suspiria de Profundis, Autobiographic Sketches,* and *Joan of Arc.*

LEIGH HUNT
(From a sketch by D. Maclise)

Leigh Hunt. Leigh Hunt (1784–1859) was born one year earlier and died in the same year as De Quincey. His literary activity began with a volume of poems published when he was sixteen and ended with a series of essays written when he was seventy-five, in the year of his death. In 1808 he became editor of *The Examiner,* a new radical weekly, which soon gained a

considerable popularity. Four years later the paper was prosecuted because of its libelous description of the prince regent (later George IV), and Hunt and his brother were sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Hunt was permitted to have his room papered with a trellis of roses and supplied with books, flowers, and a piano. Here he was visited by Charles Lamb, Tom Moore, Byron, and many others who admired him for his political courage. In 1816 appeared his poem *The Story of Rimini*. By this time he was on terms of close friendship with Keats and Shelley, but the object of the bitter hostility of the Tory journals and reviews. In 1822 he went to Italy to coöperate with Byron and Shelley on the proposed periodical, *The Liberal*. Shelley's death left the journal in the hands of two men very uncongenial, and it lasted for only four numbers. The rest of Hunt's long life was occupied by many journalistic projects and by work as an essayist and critic. Nearly everything that he wrote reflects his sunny cheerfulness and his love for literature.

Landor. We have seen that Lamb, Hazlitt, De Quincey, and Leigh Hunt may be classed together for various reasons: (1) they all wrote for the reviews, (2) they were in sympathy with the new romantic movement in which Coleridge and Wordsworth were leaders, (3) they were appreciative critics, (4) they made prose more individual, emotional, and imaginative than that of the eighteenth century, (5) they developed the essay into a varied, intimate, and personal form of literature. These particulars can be applied to Walter Savage Landor only with numerous qualifications. The first of his *Imaginary Conversations* was published in 1823 in the *London Magazine*, which had proved hospitable to Lamb, Hazlitt, and De Quincey; but Landor did not often write for periodicals. Though in general sympathy with the romanticists, he was greatly devoted to the literature of Greece and Rome; and though his prose is individual enough it has in marked degree the qualities of reserve and dignity which are often thought of as classical. The form

of literature which Landor developed was not the essay but the dialogue, or conversation.

Landor's long life and varying activities make him rather difficult to classify either by period or associates. Born in the year of Bunker Hill, he lived almost to the conclusion of the Civil War. His first volume of poems appeared in 1795, his last sixty-eight years later. The life-long friend of Southey, he lived to be cared for by Browning and to receive the admiring homage of Swinburne. During his long life, though he had innumerable personal quarrels, he made no change in his literary enthusiasms and hatreds, and indeed was little affected in any of his opinions and beliefs by the course of events or the progress of knowledge. He was less an original thinker than a man of strong emotional temperament, who saw in the records of experience and history reflections of his own tenderness, chivalry, pride, courtesy, and fastidiousness.

The Imaginary Conversations. Two volumes of *Imaginary Conversations* appeared in 1824, and were followed by other volumes and by *Pericles and Aspasia* (letters) and *The Pentameron* (Boccaccio and Petrarch) which may be regarded as an enlarged conversation. In all, Landor presents imaginary colloquies between historical persons. A large number are from Greek and Roman times, others are contemporary, including several conversations between Landor and Southey; but almost every period of history is represented. The majority are discursive, setting forth Landor's ideas at length and often without much attention to the persons who are supposed to be speaking. A few are brief and dramatic, reproducing with extraordinary vividness the emotions of some significant moment in history. Henry VIII seeks a last interview with Anne Boleyn, on the eve of her execution; the Empress Catharine and the Princess Dashkoff listen outside the door of the room where the czar has just been murdered by Catharine's command; the dying Marcellus gives the generous victor Hannibal a new appreciation of Roman virtue; or Godiva begs her husband for

mercy to his oppressed tenants. It is in these dramatic dialogues and the letters which tell of the noble attachment between Pericles and Aspasia that Landor's style approaches perfection. In all the Conversations, Landor assumes a knowledge on the part of the reader as large and as miscellaneous as his own, and he disdains to supply setting or explanation. He wrote to please himself with little regard for popular favor, but with an exquisite and precise art that has won the admiration of a few. "I shall dine late," he once said, "but the dining-room will be well lighted, the guests few and select. I neither am nor ever shall be popular."

The Novel

A Popular Form of Literature. By the time of Dr. Johnson's death in 1784, the novel, as we have seen, had become the most popular form of literature. It had already responded to the growing demand for sentimentality, and to the interests of the increasing number of women readers, and in a few instances it had tried medievalism and horrors. Within a few years it had also set forth many of the new ideas derived from Rousseau and the French Revolution. It was one or several of these various interests that engaged most of the novels which appeared between 1784 and the publication of Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* and Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*, the first novels of two great masters in two different kinds of fiction — the one domestic and realistic, the other historical and romantic.

The Gothic Romances. The reign of terror in fiction which was entered upon by Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* had a succession of monarchs or aspirants to the throne. Beckford's *Vathek* drew its horrors from an eastern scene, but Mrs. Anne Radcliffe returned to the Middle Ages. Her most famous novel, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, appeared in 1794. The haunted castle, the ghost which haunts it, the dark mysterious hero, and the sentimental heroine play their parts amid wild and romantic scenery; but the mystery is solved in the end, and the appar-

ently supernatural horrors often have a rational explanation. Mrs. Radcliffe's success excited the emulation of Matthew Lewis, who also found that German fiction was offering a delightful assemblage of ghosts, robbers, and tortures. He enlisted young Walter Scott into writing for his *Tales of Terror* and translations from the German. Schiller's *Robbers* and Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen* helped to add fuel to the blaze of terrors both in fiction and on the stage. Mrs. Radcliffe and Lewis both continued to produce novels for some years, and they had many successors.

Historical Fiction. It is impossible to read these early Gothic tales to-day with any seriousness, but they represent the marked change that was coming over literature and they prepared the way both for a more worthy treatment of the supernatural and for a more serious attempt to revive the past. The most notable presentation of history before Scott is to be found in the two novels of Jane Porter, *Thaddeus of Warsaw* and *The Scottish Chiefs*. The books have an excess of the sentimentality common in the fiction of their class, but they have held their popularity for a hundred years.

Novels with a Purpose. The Gothic horrors were often employed by novelists whose purpose was didactic. William Godwin, the philosopher and author of *Political Justice*, made his novel *Caleb Williams* a protest against the administration of justice but he also endowed it with a murder and a mystery. Other novels with a purpose or a doctrine were Mrs. Inchbald's *Simple Story*, which treated of girls' schools, and Thomas Day's *Sandford and Merton*, which under the inspirations of Rousseau's *Émile*, set forth the education of a boy. Its ideal of manliness has commended it to many thousands of boy readers.

Maria Edgeworth. Thomas Day was a great friend of Richard Edgeworth, also a follower of Rousseau, author, experimenter with the telegraph and velocipede, and father of Maria Edgeworth the novelist. She suffered somewhat from her father's efforts to increase her height by a mechanical contriv-

ance and from administrations of tar water by his friend Day; but she grew up to be her father's assistant, confidant, and sharer in his various educational schemes. She too wrote much on education, but her fiction dealt with other interests, with the Irish peasantry whom she knew on her father's estate in Ireland, or with fashionable life with which she became acquainted on her visits to London. Her earliest and best novel, *Castle Rackrent*, tells not of a haunted dungeon but of an Irish estate, and Sir Walter Scott declared that her descriptions of Irish character had led him to make in *Waverley* a similar attempt to describe Scottish manners. She wrote at home amid all sorts of domestic interruptions, and submitted everything to her delighted father, who often added passages of his own. *Castle Rackrent* alone escaped his supervision, and perhaps for this reason it is superior in originality and vivacity to any of her "Tales of Fashionable Life," as two series of her novels were called. Perhaps the best of these is *The Absentee*.

Jane Austen. It will be noticed that many of the novelists of this period were women. Like Miss Edgeworth and Fanny Burney, Jane Austen (1775-1817) began writing as a girl and continued amid the many distractions of home. She had written several of her novels before she was twenty-five, although none were published until much later. She was almost uninfluenced by the current fashions in fiction or by the revolutionary ideas. Sentimentalism is ridiculed in her first story, *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), and the Gothicism of Mrs. Radcliffe is burlesqued in *Northanger Abbey*. Until she was twenty-six she lived in the little village where her father was rector, and she wrote of life in quiet rural England, unmindful of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The persons of the novels are neither of very high or very low estate, and they have no great adventures. A picnic, a dance, amateur theatricals, or at most an elopement are the outstanding events. It is said that two men are never left alone together in her novels; there are always ladies present. The stories at all events are told

from a woman's point of view and deal only with such persons and events as naturally came under the observation of the rector's daughter at Steventon.

A Master of Realism. Within this limited range there has never been more searching and convincing delineation of character. The quiet but ever attentive humor, the fine discrimination of individual peculiarities, the development of personality under the stress of ordinary experience have made her novels the joy of countless readers. You may like your novels thick with excitement, or with moral enthusiasms, or with sentiment; and you will find little of these in Jane Austen. But though her range is limited, it is the range of everyday experience with which every one is familiar, and her interpretation of its persons and happenings is as fresh to-day as ever. Pride and prejudice are two sins as conspicuous in everyday affairs as when she delineated their effects so humorously in the novel that bears their names. *Emma* tells of a delightful girl who is as essentially true to life to-day as she was in the years when Napoleon was emperor. She is indeed a new woman, a competent, self-reliant young person who likes to manage other people's affairs and who is able to learn from experience. There is not a page in these two great novels which does not reveal men and women with the brush of a master artist. Sir Walter Scott wrote in his diary that her talent was "the most wonderful" he had ever met with. "The big bow-wow stories I can do myself like any man going; but the exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting from the truth of description and sentiment is denied to me. What a pity such a gifted creature died so young!"

Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832)

With Sir Walter Scott we have come to one of the great figures in modern literature. We have already considered him as a poet; and he was also a scholar, active in the study of medieval literature, and the editor of fine editions of Dryden and

Swift. But his great contribution to the world's literature was his thirty-two novels beginning with *Waverley* in 1814 and ending with *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous* in the year before his death.

His Character. When *Waverley* astonished the world, Scott was forty-three years old, tall and powerful, the prince of friends and companions. He had stored his mind with wide reading, and probably no man knew better the history of Europe from the tenth through the eighteenth century. Certainly no one else had at his pen's end such knowledge of the manners, dress, and customs, or of the stories and persons of past times. The Napoleonic wars had stiffened his patriotism and Toryism, and he had come to dread any change from the established order. He was rich and famous but no one ever worked harder or lived a busier life. Up in the mornings at five, he was at his desk by six, and by ten had usually written many pages of his romances. All of his letters were answered on the same day; and by noon he was ready to entertain the numerous guests who enjoyed the hospitality of Abbotsford. Much of his time he spent out of doors, riding, fishing, or taking long tramps, for in spite of his lameness he could make thirty miles a day. He was on terms of intimacy with all his neighbors, and counted his dogs, by whom he was always surrounded, as his best friends. He was the companion and playfellow of his children and later of his grandchild. He wrote with great rapidity and with few corrections. In 1819 he suffered from a serious illness, which seemed likely to prove fatal. Nevertheless he kept at work, and dictated when he could not write. Parts of *Ivanhoe* and of *The Bride of Lammermoor* were dictated while he was suffering from such acute pains that he would scream in agony. When *The Bride of Lammermoor* was completed, he found that he had forgotten his own novel. The process of creation had become almost unconscious.

The Waverley Novels. Scott always had a modest opinion of his own writings and no great desire for literary reputation.

SCOTT

The novels were published anonymously, but it was soon guessed that "the Great Unknown" was the author of *Marmion* and *The Lady of the Lake*. The first nine novels, *Waverley, Guy Mannering, The Antiquary, The Black Dwarf, Old Mortality, Rob Roy, The Heart of Midlothian, The Bride of Lammermoor,* and *A Legend of Montrose,* deal with Scottish scenes and stories, and were drawn from the stores of legend and anecdote with which Scott's mind had been crowded from childhood and from his own personal intercourses with persons and places. *Ivanhoe* (1819) marked his entrance into a new field, that of English life in the reign of Richard I. Henceforth, the novels, although they often included Scotch persons and scenes, dealt with a great variety of epochs and places, drawing on Scott's wide reading rather than on his personal experiences. *The Monastery* and *The Abbot* tell of Mary Queen of Scots and of Scotland of the sixteenth century. *Kenilworth* takes us to England of the same period. *The Fortunes of Nigel* to the London of James I. *Quentin Durward* follows the adventures of a young Scot in the France of the fifteenth century under Louis XI. *The Talisman* goes back to Richard the Lion Hearted, and the scene is the Palestine of the Crusades. Each novel was issued in three volume form and usually sold for one pound ten shillings. It was not yet the day of cheap books, but through circulating libraries the novels reached practically the entire reading public of the time. They were read with delight by every one and were soon to be found in the United States and throughout western Europe.

The Historical Novel. Scott created the historical novel. He combined stories of love and adventure with real scenes and events of the past. He summoned the great figures of history and legend to live with men and women of his own invention. There had been no such union of history and fiction before, except in Shakespeare's historical plays, and there has not been since Scott any imaginative recreation of the past comparable with his.

His Methods of Fiction. It is easy to discern the general scheme which is followed by each novel. (1) There is a very beautiful and charming heroine and a somewhat less attractive and individual hero. Their love is mingled with adventures and rescues and is opposed by a deep-dyed villain. There is also usually some mystery, with suggestions of supernatural interference that has to be explained away before hero and heroine are finally united. (2) This story of the lovers, villain, and mystery is given a historical setting with real persons and scenes. Usually we have at least one historical figure of eminence, such as Mary Stuart, Richard I, or Louis XI; and the scenes chosen, whether of battle, siege, or festivity, are of great historical interest. (3) In addition to the romance and the historical scene, there are a large number of eccentric characters, who afford full play for Scott's lively humor. Sometimes these are suggested by history, oftener by his own experience. The best of these humorous characters are Scotch.

Faults and Merits. Such a bald statement indicates some of Scott's limitations. The love story is often conventional, and the villainy is likely to be melodramatic, and the mystery may seem a borrowing from the Gothic fiction. The novels are sometimes slow in starting, and the plot overloaded with complications. There are often details in structure or in style which show the carelessness of his rapid composition. There are also some historical inaccuracies and anachronisms. But the novels are marvels of invention, grandly planned, and filled out with vivid incident and hosts of living men and women.

Ivanhoe. Let us look for a moment at the two novels which treat of the twelfth century. In *Ivanhoe* we have a brilliant picture of medieval life at the time when the Norman conquerors and the Saxon conquered were beginning to amalgamate into a nation. Among the historical and legendary figures are Richard the Lion Hearted, his brother Prince John, and the popular hero Robin Hood. The great scenes of the tournament, the storming of the castle, and the trial by combat represent

the more spectacular side of the age of chivalry; but there is scarcely a phase of medieval life which is not depicted, camp and court, city and castle, Sherwood Forest and the monasteries. Gurth the Saxon retainer, Wamba the jester, Isaac the Jew, Ulrica the witch-like hag, Robin Hood's merry men are only a few of the minor actors. It is with this accompaniment that we follow the love story of Ivanhoe and Rowena and encounter the villainy of Bois Gilbert and the noble character of Rebecca.

The Talisman. *The Talisman* does not offer as extended a canvas as *Ivanhoe*, but it presents one of the most interesting of medieval events, the Third Crusade. Here Scott's invention had to work with Palestine, a land he had never seen, and with figures like Richard and Saladin, of whose personalities history gave only suggestions, yet how rapidly and how surely the story unfolds!

> The burning sun of Syria had not yet attained its highest point in the horizon, when a knight of the Red Cross, who had left his distant northern home and joined the host of the Crusaders in Palestine, was pacing slowly along the sandy deserts which lie in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, or, as it is called, the Lake Asphaltites, where the waves of the Jordan pour themselves into an inland sea, from which there is no discharge of waters.

A moment more, and both the desert scene and the elaborate accouterments of the knight and his horse have been described, and we turn to meet a Saracen Cavalier issuing from among the distant palm trees.

> The Saracen came on at the speedy gallop of an Arab horseman, managing his steed more by his limbs and the inflection of his body than by any use of the reins, which hung loose in his left hand; so that he was enabled to wield the light round buckler of the skin of the rhinoceros, ornamented with silver hoops, which he wore on his arm, swinging it as if he meant to oppose its slender circle to the formidable thrust of the Western lance. His own long spear was not couched or levelled like that of his antagonist, but grasped by the middle with his right hand, and brandished at arm's length above his head.

The two opponents have a passage at arms, make an honorable truce and "without an angry look or gesture of doubt, ride side by side to the little cluster of palm-trees." The first chapter is ended, the story has begun. What exciting incidents, what brilliant passages, what danger and escape, heroism and villainies succeed, until the closing chapter, when the great rivals Saladin and Richard part friends, with Jerusalem still in the hands of the Saracen, but Edith Plantagenet married to the Red Cross Knight of the opening adventure!

The King of Romancers. Scott has been called the king of romancers and on the contrary it has been denied that he was a romanticist at all. In some respects he was quite different from his romantic contemporaries. He did not believe in political or social reform, and he did not make literature chiefly the expression of personality. One of the most conspicuous of the tendencies of the time, however, reaches its culmination in him. The interest in the Middle Ages which was reawakened in the eighteenth century had animated Scott's early literary ventures and it grew into a profound attachment to the past. That is the theme of his novels and that is their unique achievement, the imaginative reconstruction of the days that are gone.

The Glory of the Past. Scott has been charged with superficiality, with a delight in the mere surface rather than in the heart of past times. It is true that he describes with great vividness dress, weapons, and manners, and that he delights in crowded scenes of action, such as ceremonies, battles, tournaments. But he reproduces also the habits, faiths, and virtues of the past. He celebrates feudalism, whether of the twelfth or the eighteenth century, and its virtues of loyalty and obedience on the part of the retainers and of honor and *noblesse oblige* on the part of the lords. With these virtues of an olden time go the love of family, the close attachment of kinship, and the love of place, the deep-rooted affections that center on locality and home. His wonderful reconstruction of history is something

far more than a brilliant background for stories, it is a revelation of the meaning which the past has for every thinking man. To read his novels gives one, to borrow Emerson's phrase, "the feeling of longevity." We come to feel that we too are a part of this great human progress, that our lives run back into these past generations, and that there is something in life more lasting and more noble than our own concerns of the moment. There are Americans who have resented Scott's glorification of the past as contrary to our democratic notions. But surely if democracy is to create new ideals, it needs to know how men's better natures have been aroused in the past. Democracy will not be the worse for some of the virtues of aristocracy, and we shall not make a better future unless we desire all the help we may gain from the past.

His Characterization. The greatness of Scott's fiction is not, however, dependent solely on its depiction of history. It lies mainly in his power as a creator of character. His books are crowded with men and women of all stations and all kinds, tragic, heroic, comic. Except in the plays of Shakespeare, there is nowhere else in English literature such a comprehensive revelation of humanity. Scott's characterization, like his humor and like his description of scenery, is broad rather than subtle, vivid rather than analytic. The natural scenes which he describes are those which every one would find beautiful or picturesque, and he sees only what any one would recognize there. He does not, like Wordsworth, seek out hidden beauties and record impressions from nature peculiar to himself. In similar fashion, his humor finds laughter where every one would find it, in manifest incongruities of appearance or conduct, in exaggerated oddity or whimsy. He does not, like Lamb, discover a smile or a quibble in the most unexpected places. So, too, in his characterization he seizes on manifest qualities and clearly defined individualities. He does not, like Jane Austen, find individuality revealed in the most ordinary circumstances among commonplace persons. His method, what

he called "the big bow-wow" was to show men and women tested by great and dramatic trials, by perils of life or honor, by loss of loved ones, by the excitements of rivalry and ambition. He saw not every shade of emotion, but the great motives which have ever swayed men, and these he painted clearly and powerfully. He searched out the springs of action, and in this confusion of many motives he found the noble, the unselfish, the heroic.

The Heart of Midlothian. *The Heart of Midlothian* tells of events about eighty years prior to Scott's writing. The historical characters and scenes are not famous, and there is nothing of that brilliant pageantry which we find in *The Talisman.* The novel, though a long one, has fewer characters than is usual with Scott, and it is rather encumbered with a complicated plot and by certain uninteresting personages; but it stands among the greatest works of fiction because of its heroine, the simple peasant girl, Jeanie Deans. Her sister Effie has been condemned to death because of suspected child murder, and Jeanie refuses to tell a lie even to save her sister's life. But she does go afoot and alone from Edinburgh to London to beg a pardon from the Queen, and shows the greatest courage, devotion, and shrewd sense until she wins. The story is founded on an actual occurrence and it turns, moreover, on the conflict of the deepest love for sister and love for truth. There is no heroine in fiction more real than Jeanie Deans or more appealing to the best in human nature. Her interview with her sister in the Edinburgh prison in the presence of the sinister jailer, her interview in London with the Duke of Argyle, with her parting reminder that in the presence of the queen he should think of the courage she had mustered to speak to him "and so dinna be chappit back or cast down wi' the first rough answer," and the final interview in which Jeanie makes her passionate appeal to Queen Caroline — there are few chapters like these anywhere. Here is the romance of reality, the discovery of the noblest motives in the humblest garb.

There lies Scott's power, a power that is always manifest when he is at his best, the power to render us life with the rhythm of reality and the glory of romance.

Guides to Study

Reading. Essayists: Lamb, Dissertation on Roast Pig, Dream Children, In Praise of Chimneysweeps; Hazlitt, My First Acquaintance with Poets, Of Persons One Would Wish to Have Seen, one or two sketches from the Spirit of the Age; De Quincey, Confessions of an English Opium Eater; Landor, one or two of the Imaginary Conversations; Leigh Hunt, A Now — a Cold Day (Scott Library). Further examples are to be found in the collections.

Novelists: A selection from the following: Maria Edgeworth's Castle Rackrent, Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice and Emma, Scott's Heart of Midlothian, Ivanhoe, Kenilworth, Rob Roy, Guy Mannering, Talisman, Quentin Durward, Woodstock.

Important for their critical and biographical matter are the chapters on Wordsworth in Coleridge's Biographia Literaria, Hazlitt's Spirit of the Age, Wordsworth's Prose Prefaces, Lamb's Letters, Lockhart's Life of Scott, Carlyle's Essays on Burns and Scott, the chapter on Coleridge in Carlyle's John Sterling, De Quincey's Autobiographic Sketches.

Dickens's Tale of Two Cities (French Revolution), Thackeray's Vanity Fair (Waterloo).

Questions. When was the *Edinburgh Review* established? In what ways was it of importance in literature? Name several other Reviews. Who was Jeffrey? How did the reviews enlarge the opportunities for writers? Compare journalism to-day with its condition one hundred years ago. Describe an article written for the *Edinburgh Review*. Who was its first editor? What new kind of criticism did Coleridge introduce? Explain the difference between "dogmatic" and "appreciative" criticism. How did Coleridge regard Shakespeare? What did Coleridge teach? Tell what you can of the life of Charles Lamb. What are some of the Essays of Elia? Who was Bridget Elia? Compare an essay by Lamb with one by Addison. In what ways was Lamb a romanticist? What are the subjects of some of Hazlitt's essays? How did he regard Shakespeare? Tell something of his friends and foes. What has De Quincey written about childhood? What is his most famous book? Compare Landor with the other prose writers treated in this chapter. Describe an Imaginary Conversation you have read.

When did the novel become popular? What was the first Gothic ro-

mance? What were some of its successors? Name two historical novels that preceded Scott. What novels named in this chapter have you read? What women novelists are discussed? Tell something of the life of Maria Edgeworth; of Jane Austen. What do you find humorous in one of Miss Austen's novels? What do you think of its persons? are they real? interesting? amusing? What is meant when she is called a master of realism?

What else did Scott do besides write novels? How did he pass his boyhood? What interest did he take in old ballads? in history? in tales of terror? Tell the circumstances under which Waverley was written. Give an account of Scott's personality, his appearance, his habits of work, his politics, his diversions, his character. Tell the story of his last years. Name ten of the Waverley novels. What is a historical novel? What periods of history are described in Scott's novels? what countries? What faults are sometimes found with these novels? What are their great merits? Compare his method of fiction with Jane Austen's. Describe the one which you like best. How do they make us appreciate the glory of the past? What do they teach us about men and women of the present? What value have they for boys and girls?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. England during the Napoleonic Wars. The Invention of the Steam Engine. Newspapers a Century Ago. The Magazine of a Hundred Years Ago. Mrs. Radcliffe's Heroes and Horrors. Coleridge's Criticism of Wordsworth. An Hour with Lamb's Letters. A Ramble with Lamb in His London. An Imaginary Conversation between Lamb and Wordsworth on the Ancient Mariner. Imaginary Conversation between Hazlitt and Coleridge on Macbeth; between Landor and De Quincey on Dreams. A Day in One of Miss Austen's Villages. A Day with Scott at Abbotsford. Chivalry as Pictured in Ivanhoe. France as Seen by Quentin Durward. Rebecca (from Ivanhoe) Meets One of Jane Austen's Heroines. The Two Visit New York.

CHAPTER XIV

MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY PROSE, 1832–1881

INTRODUCTION. The New Age. Political Reform. The Industrial Revolution. Problems of Government. Religion and Science. Changes in Literature. Ethical Interest.

CARLYLE. Early Life. *Sartor Resartus.* In London. *The French Revolution.* Heroes. *Past and Present.* A Leader of Literature. A Modern Prophet.

MACAULAY. Character. Essays. *History of England.* His Memory. His Allusions. Prose Style. A Popular Writer.

NEWMAN AND MILL. The Tractarian Movement. Newman's Prose. John Stuart Mill. His Works.

RUSKIN. Early Life. *Modern Painters.* Art Criticism. Other Books on Art. A Change in His Work. His Scheme for Social Reform. Arts and Crafts. Last Years. His Teaching. Two Ideals.

MATTHEW ARNOLD. A Critic. Culture. Criticism and Literature. An Ethical Teacher.

THE SCIENTISTS. Literature and Science. Darwin. His Great Discovery. Evolution. Huxley and Tyndall.

SUMMARY Other Writers. Specialization. An Instrument of Reform.

The New Age. The year 1832 was a turning point in both literature and politics, for it marks the death of Sir Walter Scott and the passing of the Reform Bill. In the same year died Goethe, Bentham, and Crabbe, and two years later, those lifelong friends, Lamb and Coleridge. A great period of poetry had clearly come to an end. Keats, Shelley, and Byron had died earlier, and though Wordsworth lived and continued to write until 1850, his best work had long been accomplished. Any one surveying the verse that was published in the years between Byron's death and 1832 would have failed to find any indications of the great poets to come. These indications, however, were not long deferred. Tennyson published a thin

volume of verse in 1830, and a far more remarkable volume in 1833. In the same year appeared Browning's *Pauline*. In prose, the break between the old era and the new is not so abrupt, for De Quincey and Landor continued to write after 1832, and Macaulay and Carlyle were by that date already known as contributors to the reviews. In 1833, however, a strange book, *Sartor Resartus*, made it clear that England had a new prophet, Thomas Carlyle. By the time Victoria came to the throne in 1837, Thackeray began to be known and Dickens had won great popularity with the *Pickwick Papers* and *Oliver Twist*.

Political Reform. The Reform Act reorganized the House of Commons, giving representation to the new manufacturing cities and greatly extending the electorate. The immediate effect of this step toward a truly representative government was to put the Liberals in power, and it was accompanied by a large amount of liberal legislation. Within the decade, 1826-1835, the removal of penalties on trade unions, Catholic emancipation, the emancipation of slaves, the poor law amendment, and municipal reform were all subjects of important enactments. Moreover, the Reform Bill was the first great victory for the democratic movement which was to continue its advance throughout the nineteenth century. In England, the Chartist agitation for universal suffrage met with failure but led the way to various extensions of the franchise; and in every nation of western Europe there was increasing pressure and much practical progress toward the ideals of political liberty and equality.

The Industrial Revolution. By 1832 the course of the industrial revolution was becoming apparent in England, for it was being transformed from an agricultural into a manufacturing country. The kind of labor by which the working man earned his daily bread was being revolutionized. The conditions of living were also changing from the village with its hand spinners and weavers to the crowded tenements and factories of the smoky cities. The terrible conditions in the employment of women and children soon received legislative

remedy, but new evils and difficulties multiplied more rapidly than the remedies. The age of machinery had arrived. The modern world as we know it was coming into existence. The Manchester and Liverpool Railway in 1830 proved that transportation was also to be revolutionized, and in ten years there was a frenzy of railway building. Machine manufacture and machine transportation entirely changed the production and distribution of commodities. Trade and commerce grew apace and occupied more and more men's energies. It gradually became evident that the new conditions of industry affected, not only the individual worker, but the welfare and destiny of the nation. The industrial revolution was felt by England first of European nations; her possession of coal and iron and her freedom from the ravages of the Napoleonic wars enabled her to take full advantage of the new power, steam; and during this period she increased her superiority over all other nations in manufactures, commerce, and wealth.

Problems of Government. The great problems of government in relation to industry and business were soon the subjects of discussion. Political Economy, the new science of wealth, advocated free competition without government interference, and this policy was supported by the utilitarian philosophy, which saw the greatest happiness in the least possible government. This doctrine of *laissez faire* (let alone) was accepted by the leaders of the new liberal party; and free trade triumphed in the repeal of the corn laws, tariff duties on grain, in 1846. On the other hand, manufacturing was soon bound by legislation fixing the hours and conditions of labor. While the main political discussion of this period was concerned with domestic affairs, the British Empire was extending its world-wide dominion. Emigration was developing the white colonies of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; and two striking acts of Disraeli as prime minister indicate England's dominance in the East — the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal and the conferring upon the queen of the title of Empress of India.

Religion and Science. With so many changes taking place in the world about them, it was natural that men should question anew the matters of faith and religion. In no period has the discussion of religious and ethical problems been more varied; and these subjects play a large part in imaginative literature. New bearings were given to this discussion by the great advances in natural science, especially by the epoch-making work of Charles Darwin. His *Origin of Species* (1859) proved that the physical species are not fixed, but changing by natural selection in which the fittest survive. The more general law of evolution, the orderly development of simple into complex forms, was soon applied to moral and social affairs as well as to the physical world. Thoughtful men were quick to ask, how does the new scientific knowledge affect our old beliefs, faiths, and traditions? There were many and different answers. The immense interest created in facts, in experiments, in the study of cause and effect, seemed to some to be full of promise for improving the world, but to others it seemed full of danger to faith and idealism.

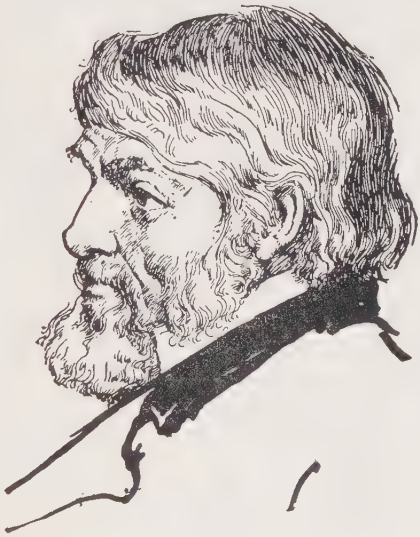
Changes in Literature. Enough has been said to indicate that this period was one of tremendous change. The England of Victoria was very different from the England of past centuries, and it was conscious that the process of change had only begun. Democracy, industry, commerce, and science seemed to be hurrying the nation out of its charted course into an unknown sea. Literature, like every form of activity, was directly affected. The reading public increased by leaps and bounds as education was extended and books and periodicals were cheapened. The chances for making money out of writing were multiplied. The amount of reading matter provided in a daily newspaper was more than King Alfred perused in many months. Literature seemed to be becoming democratized and commercialized. But the traditions of literature at the beginning of this period were those of the romantic movement. Young men beginning to write in 1830 shared the beliefs of Words-

worth and Coleridge and Shelley that the creative imagination was to guide mankind through the emotions and sympathies, and that the abodes of the imagination were external nature, or the world of past ages, or the sentiments and passions of the individual, or reflective philosophy. The new age developed other interests and proved in many ways inhospitable to this creed; and the history of literature in this period must relate how the romanticist inheritance was modified in the environment of democracy, industrialism, and science.

Ethical Interest. English literature in this period is little affected by foreign influences and does not share much in European movements. Its course is most clearly paralleled by American literature, which owed much to the mother country but produced great and independent writers of its own. England had its peculiar problems, and it was with these that its prose writers were chiefly concerned. The writing produced in the period is enormous, and its topics so varied that they almost defy classification. But the chief prose writers whom we shall consider are representative as well as eminent. They represent one trait which characterizes most of the mid-century literature, whether in verse or prose, that of moral earnestness. Whatever his creed, none of these men was content that literature should be merely a fine art; they were all earnest to use it as a means to make men wiser and better. In no other period is English literature more serious, more deeply concerned with the great problem of improving the world.

Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881)

Early Life. Thomas Carlyle was in many ways the most important literary figure of this period. His great influence was exerted not so much in winning persons to his opinions as in awakening them to a keen concern in the questions that he raised. His writings were a tonic which aroused men in every class of society and of widely different interests. Carlyle



CARLYLE

was the son of a Scotch mason and was intended by his parents for the ministry. After graduating at Edinburgh University, he tried teaching and tutoring and then turned to writing for the reviews. When in the twenties, he passed through a period of despair and a subsequent spiritual awakening which he has described in *Sartor Resartus*. This conversion was preceded by two events, which may have influenced it. First, he had become acquainted with German literature and philosophy, and in the writings of Goethe had found inspiration. Second, he had just been introduced to a beautiful and brilliant woman, Jane Welsh, whom he married in 1826. Carlyle found a precarious employment for a time in writing articles about his favorite Germans, and in 1828, the newly-married couple went to live at Craigenputtock, a lonely manor house miles away from the nearest town. In the outdoor life, Carlyle for the time got the better of the dyspepsia which was his life-long torment, and through much reading and writing arrived at beliefs which remained fixed. For Mrs. Carlyle the life was lonely, and she always looked back to the manor house as a sort of prison. There were, however, bright spots — letters and presents from Goethe, kind offers of help from Jeffrey, and a visit from a young American, Ralph Waldo Emerson, whom both of the Carlyles thought "one of the most lovable creatures." The main result of the years at Craigenputtock was *Sartor Resartus*, a book which, when she read it, Mrs. Carlyle pronounced "a work of genius, my dear."

Sartor Resartus. *Sartor Resartus* (The Tailor Reclothed) is built on the metaphor of clothes which Swift had used in his *Tale of a Tub*. Clothes are employed as a symbol for all forms, titles, ceremonies, and for all institutions, creeds, and organizations that are merely the coverings of reality. Clothes are also used to signify all appearances, space, time, matter, which are but the garb of the spiritual reality. In these ways the book is both an attack on shams, "old clothes" that should be cast away, and the proclamation of a philosophy which views man

and his universe as the changing garments of the eternal spirit.

The book pretended to be the work of a German philosopher, Teufelsdröckh (Devil's dung), who had left some mysterious manuscripts for the English translator. The second part of the book is autobiographical of Teufelsdröckh, or really of Carlyle himself. It tells how the hero faced the "Everlasting No," the powers of skepticism, denial, and despair, and how he passed through the "center of indifference" and reached the Everlasting Yea, the determination to work. This spiritual struggle is similar to that which we have already seen reflected in Wordsworth's poetry, and which we shall find again in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, and indeed in many different forms in many of the writings of the century. The process in Carlyle's mind was (1) the assurance that he, the individual, was a part of the eternal reality, and (2) therefore the assurance that his activities would count. His message to the world was — Cease worrying about yourself, go to work.

The concluding part of *Sartor* amplifies Carlyle's gospel of work. Work must be directed by leaders, and the mass of men are to be the disciples to these heroes. Literature is to provide the new priesthood, to give moral guidance and encouragement. The great conflict of poor and rich, labor and capital, offers immense difficulties, in the solution of which heroic leadership will be necessary. Society must be rebuilt, with this new religion of work and duty as its cornerstone. *Sartor* appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, where it "excited the most unqualified disapprobation," and was first published as a book in the United States through Emerson's interest. It grew slowly into fame in England, but it became one of the most read books of the century. In the year of Carlyle's death, nearly fifty years after it was first published, 30,000 copies were sold. It contains most of the ideas to be found in his later writings, although these are rarely so personal or so philosophical and are largely either political and social or historical and biographical.

In London. In 1834 the Carlyles moved to London and set up housekeeping at 5 Cheyne Row in the suburb of Chelsea. He was still very poor and too proud to take help or advice. Attempts to secure a university professorship failed, and when a friend offered a clerkship, Carlyle expressed his wonder that any one should suppose "a polar bear, reduced to a state of dyspeptic digestion, might safely be trusted to tending rabbits." Several courses of lectures brought funds; Emerson sent several hundred pounds from the American edition of *Sartor*, and *The French Revolution* brought fame. The manuscript of this book had been accidentally destroyed by a servant of John Stuart Mill to whom it had been lent. It was a gloomy night in 5 Cheyne Row when Mill brought this news and stayed two hours to express his regret; yet when he went Carlyle's first words to his wife were that they must conceal from Mill how serious the loss was for them. It was with the greatest difficulty that he forced himself to write the book over again, but at last when he handed the finished manuscript to his wife he said that he could tell the world "you have not had for a hundred years any book that comes more direct and flamingly from the heart of a living man. Do what you will with it, you ——." After money and fame had arrived, Mrs. Carlyle did not find it much easier to live with her dyspeptic polar bear than on the moors of Craigenputtock, and no children came to her. A soundproof room in the attic eased him, and she finally managed to suppress some "demon fowls" of the neighbors; but he was a terrible growler all his life, and she was no rabbit, but a quick tempered and witty woman, with an ability to say unpleasant things very effectively. They both suffered from bad health, but found a certain pleasure in exaggerating their troubles. And really each was devoted to the other, and perhaps no home with so much genius has contained more love.

The French Revolution. In *The French Revolution* Carlyle brings his moral view to bear on one of the most astounding

periods of human history. He sees that tumultuous upheaval as a tremendous conflict in which the forces of good and evil are almost inextricably confused. He brings the persons and events before us with the most dramatic vividness. We see and feel each one of these mortals as they " haste stormfully across the astonished Earth."

Here is a passage from his wonderful description of the Siege of the Bastille.

Blood flows; the aliment of new madness. The wounded are carried into houses of the Rue Cerisaie; the dying leave their last mandate not to yield till the accursed Stronghold fall. And yet, alas! how fall? The walls are so thick! Deputations, three in number, arrive from the Hôtel-de-Ville; Abbé Fauchet (who was of one) can say with what almost superhuman courage of benevolence. These wave their Town-flag in the arched Gateway, and stand, rolling their drum, but to no purpose. In such Crack of Doom, De Launay cannot hear them, dare not believe them; they return, with justified rage, the whew of lead still singing in their ears. What to do? The Firemen are here, squirting with their fire-pumps on the Invalides cannon, to wet the touchholes; they unfortunately cannot squirt so high; but produce only clouds of spray. Individuals of classical knowledge propose *catapults*. Santerre, the sonorous Brewer of the Suburb Saint-Antoine, advises rather that the place be fired by a "mixture of phosphorus and oil of turpentine spouted up through forcing-pumps." O Spinola-Santerre, hast thou the mixture *ready?* Every man his own engineer! And still the fire-deluge abates not; even women are firing, and Turks; at least one woman (with her sweetheart), and one Turk. Gardes Françaises have come; real cannon, real cannoneers. Usher Maillard is busy; half-pay Elie, half-pay Hulin, rage in the midst of thousands.

How the great Bastille clock ticks (inaudible) in its Inner Court, there, at its ease, hour after hour; as if nothing special for it or the world, were passing! It tolled One when the firing began, and is now pointing toward Five, and still the firing slakes not. — Far down, in their vaults, the seven Prisoners hear muffled din as of earthquakes; their Turnkeys answer vaguely.

Heroes. In his *Heroes and Hero Worship*, Carlyle gives some illustrations of his favorite doctrine that human affairs are determined by great leaders, — Mohammed, Luther, Dante,

and others. In earlier essays, such as those on Burns and Boswell's Johnson, he had shown his great power in the interpretation of personality. He was unexcelled whether in vivid descriptions of external appearance or in the penetrating analysis of motives. His *Life of John Sterling*, a friend and disciple, shows Carlyle at his very best, tender and affectionate, with mingled grimness and pity. His two longest works are also biographies, *Life and Letters of Cromwell* and the *History of Friedrich II.* Following his faith in heroes, Carlyle was prone to seize upon the strong creative men for his admiration. His *Cromwell* for the first time did justice to the strength and sincerity of the great Protector. In Frederick the Great, Carlyle had, as he confessed, a man who is "to the last a questionable hero," but he admired the vigor and directness of Frederick's character and his great constructive work for Prussia. The book occupied Carlyle for over twelve years, and was recognized in both England and Germany as an extraordinary work of historical research.

Past and Present. In the first seven weeks of 1843 Carlyle wrote *Past and Present.* For the past he turned to the records of a certain Abbot Sampson in the twelfth century, one of his strong, silent, capable heroes: with Sampson's admirable rule he contrasted the misery and confusion of the present. The book made a great stir at the time, for it was both a radical appeal for overthrowing "things as they were" and a denunciation of most current theories of reform. Carlyle saw all the evils of industrial England, capital and labor separating into hostile camps, while greed of wealth or mere political oratory engrossed the best talents. He favored various measures, such as the repeal of the corn laws, immigration, education, and profit sharing; but he had no sympathy with universal suffrage, or with the "laissez faire" doctrine. He urged that the great problem was the organization of labor, and that government instead of keeping its hands off industry ought to exercise a real directing power. For the greatest happiness

theory of the utilitarians he reiterated his contempt; and again urged as in *Sartor* the necessity of a profound moral faith, the willingness to face duty and to work. Two years earlier he had published *Chartism*, and his *Latter Day Pamphlets* repeated his views on political questions with savage vehemence. He became more and more intolerant of parliaments and democracy and more insistent on the need of a strong government that would govern. In later years, Bismarck was the man in Europe who received his hearty admiration, and modern Prussia seemed to approach the model that he urged upon England. It must be remembered, however, that all of Carlyle's denunciation of democratic government and all of his praises for strong autocracy were determined by two main factors: (1) he felt most deeply the misery of the mass of workers in England; (2) he thought both the parliamentary government and the prevailing political doctrines were neglecting the main issues. As to Carlyle's doctrine, we may find underneath all his exaggeration and denunciation two fundamental tenets that are at least as likely to gain a hearing to-day as ever, though we believe these are to be secured through democracy: (1) a nation must have faith and a will to work; (2) the people need a strong government, which can be secured only through great men.

A Leader of Literature. By the time of *Past and Present* Carlyle's position as a leader of literature was well established. Until Mrs. Carlyle's death in 1866, the house in Cheyne Row was the resort of many of the most brilliant men of the time. Among these were John Stuart Mill, until his ideas became too hostile to Carlyle's, Browning, Thackeray, Dickens, Kingsley, Tennyson, a life-long friend, and Ruskin, an ardent disciple. Almost every man of letters and even the scientists, like Huxley and Tyndall, came at one time or other under the spell of Carlyle's original and forceful personality. His talk was now fiercely denunciatory, then movingly eloquent, then wildly humorous. The number of his readers constantly increased, and he came to be regarded as a great moral teacher even by

those who did not accept his ideas. After the sudden death of his wife, while he was away being inaugurated as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, Carlyle's life was secluded. He wrote little except reminiscences of his early years and annotations for a collection of his wife's letters. The publication after his death of these personal revelations, made in the agony of his bereavement, has led to an endless discussion of his married life. He died in 1881 and was buried, as he desired, not in Westminster Abbey but by the side of his parents in the old kirkyard at Ecclefechan.

A Modern Prophet. As a writer of prose Carlyle is forceful and original rather than a model. He was fond of epithets, allusions, metaphors, and picturesque expressions, and he used exclamations and inversions with frequency. These are all means of securing emphasis, and they result in a style that sometimes lacks clearness or ease but is never wanting in vigor and earnestness. He was a great artist, a master of irony, grim humor, of pathos, eloquence, and vivid portraiture. Like some other nineteenth century writers, he gives to prose all the qualities of poetry except regular rhythm, and he makes the words and sentences astonishingly representative of his striking personality. Of the gospel of work which he preached and of his denunciation of shams and his exaltation of sincerity, silence, and hero worship, there have been many echoes and reverberations. He was not a rationalist with a definite program or code, he was a prophet denouncing the evils of his day and predicting destruction unless men turned from evil to good. No doubt he himself confused the good with the evil; but this great work he did—he brought all the powers of his imagination to the sincere effort to meet the ills of the new age. He led literature into the earnest task of understanding, criticizing, and improving industrial England.

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859)

Character. Lord Macaulay, like Carlyle, was an essayist and historian. In most respects, however, they were strikingly different. Macaulay did not have Carlyle's originality or his intense interest in spiritual issues. Though both were prodigious readers, Carlyle was intent to get at the heart of the problems which beset his age, while Macaulay's interests remained largely in books and in the past. He was not in the least a mystic or a prophet, but he was a man of the highest character whose great talents won him early and continual success. He served his generation as statesman and orator; and his books have proved of unfailing interest to a full century of readers.

Essays. Macaulay was a precocious child, won distinction at college, studied law, and then turned to literature. At twenty-five he astounded the reading public by his brilliant essay on Milton in *The Edinburgh Review*. For twenty years he was the chief ornament of that magazine. Essay followed essay until they numbered thirty-six. In general, however, there is little theorizing. Whether the essays are on writers, as those on Byron, Addison, and Boswell's Johnson, or on political figures, as those on Burleigh, William Pitt, Warren Hastings, and Frederick the Great, their interest is largely historical and biographical. They present animated narratives of events and persons, and they deal only occasionally with the interpretation of literature or of ideas. Towards the close of his life he contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* five brief biographies of Atterbury, Bunyan, Goldsmith, Dr. Johnson, and William Pitt. These lack some of the exaggerations to be found in the early essays, and show Macaulay at his best as a biographer.

History of England. In 1830 he entered Parliament and at once distinguished himself by his speeches in advocacy of the Reform Bill. Because of his father's loss of property he felt

it necessary to give up a most promising parliamentary career in order to accept a lucrative post in India, where he did great service in drawing up a new penal code, and saved a comfortable fortune. On his return to England he again entered Parliament and won further distinction as an orator and statesman. In 1842, he published *Lays of Ancient Rome*, a volume of stirring narrative poems that soon rivaled the essays in popularity. His great energy was becoming less concerned with affairs of the day and more and more absorbed in writing the *History of England*, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1848. Thirteen thousand copies were sold in England within four months, and the American publishers wrote the next year, "We have already sold 40,000 copies, and we presume that over 60,000 copies have been disposed of. Probably within three months of this time the sale will amount to 200,000 copies. No work of any kind has ever so completely taken our whole country by storm." The rest of Macaulay's life was given to the *History*. Two volumes more were published in 1855, and the next March, he received $100,000 as a part of the first year's royalties. Honors were showered upon him and he was raised to the peerage the year before his death on December 28, 1859. The fifth volume of the history was left unfinished, the five volumes covering only the brief period, 1685–1701.

His Memory. Macaulay was a great reader all his life. He was rarely without a book in his hand. He read widely in classical and modern literature and history, and he read his favorite books over and over. This may have aided his stupendous memory. A single glance at a page was enough to fix the contents in his mind; and he could recite all sorts of lists and schedules. "Any fool," he said, "could recite the list of the archbishops of Canterbury backwards." He had memorized the whole of *Paradise Lost* and thought that he knew by heart Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*. No one was courageous enough to put him to the test. Macaulay was a wonderful talker. Start any subject and he was off with a

flood of facts, incidents, and observations that fairly overwhelmed the listeners. Like most great talkers, including Coleridge and Carlyle, he would much rather talk than listen.

His Allusions. One result of Macaulay's memory is the host of allusions with which he crowded his talk or his writing. Any incident or scene calls to his mind a dozen parallels or opposites; or he can fill out a description with a score of details that most persons would need to hunt long in the encyclopedia to collect. As a result, his allusions are difficult for the reader, whom Macaulay credited with a knowledge like his own; at the same time in this abundance of allusions lies one of his great merits. They recall half-forgotten persons and events to our minds, or they arouse our interest in names that we never heard before. Macaulay was fond of saying "as every schoolboy knows." The average schoolboy will have gone some steps towards becoming a person of genuine cultivation if he takes pains to know everything that Macaulay expects of him.

Prose Style. The essays and indeed the *History* itself have the vigor and animation of brilliant talk that springs from a crowded mind. In addition they have the careful organization of a master of narrative, and the vivid coloring and eloquence of a skillful speaker bent to catch his audience. Macaulay's style is always clear, and always lively. Its faults arise from his over-eagerness to be interesting. He often exaggerates and he rarely uses much shading. Everything is black or white. Addison is admirable, Boswell is a fool, and almost every statement with him is an hyperbole or an antithesis.

> The Puritan hated bear-bating, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators.

This is a characteristic antithesis. It catches the attention, although a little thought persuades you that it is not quite true.

A Popular Writer. Macaulay like Scott was an imaginative reconstructor of the past. He lived with the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries which he knew so well from his reading and study, and he made these periods live again in his *History* and essays. In appreciative and interpretative criticism as distinguished from literary biography, Macaulay does not especially excel, though such criticism as he attempts, if not profound, is usually just. His *Essay on Boswell's Life of Johnson* affords an interesting comparison with Carlyle's rejoinder on the same subject. Macaulay gives a most interesting picture of the old doctor and Boswell; but he frames this on the startling paradox: Boswell wrote the greatest of biographies because he was the greatest of fools. Carlyle goes deeper than this, though you may ask yourself whether Carlyle's insistence on Boswell as an example of his favorite theory of hero-worship does not distort the facts as much as does Macaulay's exaggeration. Though we may complain that Macaulay dealt with externals rather than with the depths of emotion or of ideas, there can only be admiration for the immense skill with which he has placed his wealth of knowledge within the reach and interest of the intelligent reader. He was essentially a popular writer. He belonged to an age when the reading public was growing rapidly in numbers and knowledge. No one has ever succeeded as he has in making history of absorbing interest to a host of readers; probably no one has ever excited so many persons to an interest in literature.

Cardinal Newman and John Stuart Mill

The Tractarian Movement. Cardinal Newman, one year younger than Macaulay, and six years the junior of Carlyle, represents trends of thought quite different from either. In 1832, when Carlyle was finishing *Sartor Resartus* and Macaulay was debating in Parliament on the Reform Bill, Newman was voyaging in the Mediterranean, writing the hymn *Lead, Kindly Light*, and feeling an inner call to return to England. The cause which engaged his services on his return was the move-

ment sometimes called "Tractarian" because its views were set forth in tracts, and sometimes named "Oxford," the home of most of its leaders. The Tractarians were men of devout lives, high churchmen, ritualists, Tories; and they opposed the growing liberalism within and without the church, seeking a greater insistence on dogma and authority. Newman, who was already a clergyman in the Church of England, threw himself with all ardor into the Tractarian cause. His sermons at St. Mary's, Oxford, as well as his writings were of great influence. But in his search for faith and authority, Newman came to a break with the Church of England. His Tract No. 90 was condemned by the bishops, and in 1845 he entered the Roman Catholic Church. Nearly twenty years later, when his motives were attacked by Charles Kingsley, he replied in his *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (Defense of His Life), a history of his religious opinions.

Newman's Prose. Newman was made a cardinal in 1879, and a large part of his life's activities lay outside the field of literature. Of his writings, the sermons, whether as Protestant or as Catholic, and the theological treatises, are beyond the scope of our discussion. He was always true to his own definition of style, "thinking out into language," and he worked with words as an artist who knew and valued each shade of meaning and of suggestion. He wrote two novels, *Loss and Gain*, a story of Oxford and a conversion to Rome, and *Callista*, a tale of Christian martyrdom. Some of his best writing is to be found in *The Idea of a University*, which grew out of his service as rector of the Catholic University of Dublin.

John Stuart Mill. The three writers we have last considered were all greatly affected, though in different ways, by the Reform Bill of 1832. Macaulay looked with satisfaction on the national and political progress which followed. Newman viewed the growth of democracy and commercialism with profound distrust and found refuge from evil days in the authority of the church. Carlyle looked upon the modern world as com-

posed of misery and folly and refused to place any confidence in either progress or authority. He has been called an undemocratic radical. John Stuart Mill represents still another reaction toward the drift of the times, that of the utilitarians or philosophical radicals. He felt as strongly as Carlyle the evil conditions of poverty and ignorance. But he found guidance, not in authority nor in hero-worship, but in scientific application of the utilitarian principle of the happiness of the greatest number. "Calculation never made a hero," said Newman, and Carlyle denounced the utilitarian criterion of happiness as immoral; but John Stuart Mill was no less earnest and sincere than they in his efforts to make life better. It was the diversity of paths in pursuit of one common goal that the poet Clough had in mind when he wrote of the ships:

> One port, methought, alike they sought,
> One purpose hold, where'er they fare;
> O bounding breeze, O rushing seas,
> At last, at last, unite them there.

His Works. Mill's most important works, his *System of Logic* and his *Principles of Political Economy*, lie outside literature; but his essays *On Liberty* and *The Subjection of Women* express his advanced thought and feeling on two very vital subjects, and his *Autobiography* is a most interesting record of a great and humane mind.

John Ruskin (1819–1900)

Early Life. We turn now to younger men who were not of age in 1832 and whose writing belongs largely to the second half of the century. John Ruskin was twenty-four years younger than his teacher Carlyle. He was the only child of wealthy parents, who were strict but kind and very ambitious for their talented son. His daily reading aloud of the Bible with his mother he called "the one essential part of my education." She wished him to become a clergyman; but his father, a lover

of pictures and scenery, thought the boy had the makings of a poet. With his parents he made each summer a tour about the country, stopping at the great houses to see the paintings and visiting places of romantic scenery. After he was fourteen these summer journeys were extended to the Continent, where they traveled leisurely in their own carriage and saw all the places of natural beauty and the art galleries. Ruskin was already well accustomed to beautiful things, but on their first trip the sight of the Alps opened to the boy a new life. "I went down that evening from the garden terrace at Schaffhausen with my destiny fixed in all of it that was to be sacred and useful." He was henceforth the student and interpreter of the beautiful and noble in nature and art.

Modern Painters. His course at Oxford was interrupted by ill health. Two years' rest warded off the danger of tuberculosis, but throughout his life his incessant activity put a severe strain on his limited strength. By the time that he graduated in 1842, he had already written much verse, some art criticism, and the fairy story, *The King of the Golden River,* written in two sittings to please the young girl whom he afterwards married. In the next year appeared the first volume of his *Modern Painters.* The initial thesis of the book was that Turner was the greatest of landscape painters, and this led to a discussion of the principles of art. Painting like literature was to be valued by its power to convey ideas of truth, beauty, and imagination. By truth is meant not mere imitation but the interpretation of the nobility of nature, based on faithful observation of reality. Ruskin was thus led to a study of mountains, sky, and sea, and he crowded the book with gorgeous descriptions. It was evident that there was a new master of emotional prose.

Art Criticism. *Modern Painters* extends the romanticist view of art beyond the realm of literature; and reflexly its theories of painting usually apply equally well to poetry. Art in this broad sense is to break away from rules and conventions,

and is to aim at a spiritual interpretation of the world of nature which will be of moral guidance to mankind. The history of English painting affords some interesting parallels with that of literature. Sir Joshua Reynolds, the friend of Dr. Johnson, represents the height of the classical tradition. Constable, whom Ruskin did not appreciate, and his idol Turner, at the very time that poetry was finding new sources of wonder in external nature, were painting landscape as no one had ever painted it before, and revealing there new truth and new beauty. The next twenty years of Ruskin's life were spent mainly as an art critic, though he busied himself with many incidental occupations, such as collecting, sketching, and teaching.

Other Books on Art. In addition to his *Modern Painters* Ruskin wrote much else on painting. He became an ardent advocate of Rossetti, Millais, and the others of the Pre-Raphaelite school who sought to break away from the conventions that had ruled since Raphael. He also wrote *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and *The Stones of Venice*. The former is a rather fantastic application of his general views of art: for the seven lamps are sacrifice, truth, power, beauty, life, memory, and obedience, and architecture like painting is to be rated by the spirit which it expresses; but the book gave eloquent support to the revival of Gothic architecture. Nearly eighty years before, the medieval castle had made its way into literature; by the middle of the nineteenth century the world had awakened again to the magnificent beauty of the Gothic cathedrals. *The Stones of Venice*, with illustrations by the author, draws many moral lessons from the monuments of that city, and abounds in descriptions of its pictures, statues, and paintings, in which his sonorous and elaborate eloquence elevates art into mystery and religion. Here is a single sentence from the description of the entrance to St. Mark's.

> And round the walls of the porches there are set pillars of variegated stones, — jasper and porphyry, and deep-green serpentine spotted with flakes of snow, and marbles that half refuse and half yield to the sunshine,

Cleopatra-like, "their bluest veins to kiss," — the shadow, as it steals back from them, revealing line after line of azure undulation, as a receding tide leaves the waved sand; their capitals rich with interwoven tracery, rooted knots of herbage, and drifting leaves of acanthus and vine, and mystical signs, all beginning and ending in the Cross; and above them, in the broad archivolts, a continuous chain of language and of life, — angels, and the signs of heaven, and the labors of men, each in its appointed season upon the earth; and above these, another range of glittering pinnacles, mixed with white arches edged with scarlet flowers, — a confusion of delight, amidst which the breasts of the Greek horses are seen blazing in their breadth of golden strength, and the St. Mark's Lion, lifted on a blue field covered with stars: until at last, as if in ecstasy, the crests of the arches break into a marble foam, and toss themselves far into the blue sky in flashes and wreaths of sculptured spray, as if the breakers on the Lido shore had been frost-bound before they fell, and the sea-nymphs had inlaid them with coral and amethyst.

A Change in His Work. With the completion of *Modern Painters*, there came a sharp change in Ruskin's life. He was forty years old, famous as an art critic, a writer of stately and poetical prose, an intense advocate of the romanticist faith in the essential harmony of the true, the beautiful, and the good. But as a moralist he had been led into a consideration of the conditions of living which existed in industrial England and he had been becoming more and more concerned with the lives of the working classes. Carlyle's teachings had greatly impressed him and he had become an intimate friend and disciple of the Chelsea sage. To his sensitive temperament, taxed by ill health and an unhappy marriage, the misery of existence seemed suddenly grown hideous and intolerable. Months of rest in Switzerland only increased for him the strong conviction that his duty lay, not in interpreting the beautiful in the world of nature and art, but in striving to remedy the evil world in which men and women were living. To him, as to Carlyle, the political economy of the day was an abhorrent "gospel of mammonism," a defense of an immoral system of industry and trade. There was indeed some basis for this view, for political economy had become, not merely the science of wealth,

but a sort of creed which greatly influenced England of the mid-century. Its fundamental tenet was that every man was moved chiefly by a desire for wealth, and its deity was free competition. It neglected the more humane interests and seemed to view life as a mechanism for creating wealth. Ruskin consequently began his effort to reform the world by an attack on the orthodox political economy.

His Scheme for Social Reform. *Unto This Last* (1862) led this attack and gave so much offense, as it was appearing serially in the *Cornhill Magazine*, that Thackeray, the editor, stopped its publication. Ruskin was by no means content with destructive criticism, he proposed a new political economy which should deal with human welfare, the real wealth, and he desired to replace modern machinery as far as possible with hand work in which the worker should take a real pleasure in his toil. In *Time and Tide* he outlined his scheme for a happy state. He proposed a form of government which was a curious combination of feudalism and socialism. Society was divided into classes even more sharply than in the feudal state, and the superior classes were given direction over inferiors. Every one owed absolute obedience to some authority. His scheme was socialistic in that the state took control of the production and distribution of wealth, and an effort was made to reward each man according to his labor. Private property was virtually abolished.

In addition to his writings Ruskin lectured frequently on all sorts of subjects from rock crystals to war. The lectures on reading and the education of women were gathered into the volume, *Sesame and Lilies*, which has proved exceedingly popular, and those on work and war into *The Crown of Wild Olive*. In addition to his writings and lectures, he carried on the cause of reform by contributing generously to all sorts of enterprises, as tea-rooms, street-cleaning, model tenements, and whatever else seemed in accord with his ideals.

Arts and Crafts. In 1870 Ruskin entered upon two undertakings that were to occupy all his energies for the next decade.

He occupied the newly established professorship of art at Oxford and gave his time lavishly to his pupils. He also undertook the organization of a society, the St. George's Guild. This was an attempt to put into practice his theories and to form a Utopia in England. Members were to give tithes, the property was to be held in common, and agricultural and industrial colonies were to be established. The scheme was announced in *Fors Clavigera,* a series of letters to workingmen which continued for many years. The Guild was not a success. Ruskin gave one tenth of his own fortune but had few followers. The founding of an art museum at Sheffield and some hand weaving in village communities were the only direct results. But these experiments have encouraged others and have had their influence on many later attempts to unite the arts and crafts and to improve the conditions of living for the poor.

Last Years. Ruskin's increasing labors as professor of art and reformer of England finally exhausted his nervous force. He suffered severe brain attacks, and after 1884 retired to the seclusion of his home Brantwood in the Lake region. In the next five years he did some writing, especially the very delightful autobiography, *Præterita.* After this his mind failed, though there were some intervals of recovery until his death in 1900.

His Teaching. There is a good deal in Ruskin's forty volumes which is absurd or far-fetched, but no one can refuse admiration to the lofty and passionate unselfishness that animates every page. He looked out on England where factory smoke and noisy railways were destroying its meadows and woods and where greed of gain and deadening labor were eating up the vital powers of its men and women. It was to this world that he preached the beauty that is to be found in nature or in the creations of man's imagination, and the duty that calls on each man to help make the life of all happier and better. "I tell you," he said at the close of one of his lectures, "that neither sound art, policy, nor religion, can exist in England

until, neglecting, if it must be, your own pleasure grounds and pleasure chambers, you resolve that the streets which are the habitation of the poor, and the fields which are the playgrounds of their children, shall be restored to the rule of the spirits, whosoever they are, in earth and heaven, that ordain and reward, with constant and conscious felicity, all that is decent and orderly, beautiful and pure."

Two Ideals. This was essentially his message, one which echoes through and through Victorian literature and was proclaimed again in the great voice of Tolstoi. Ruskin began as an appreciative critic, with the ideas of the romantic movement, but it was the pressing problem of the poor which finally seized hold on his imagination and would not let it go. His writings represent two aspirations that are reiterated again and again in the poetry and prose of the nineteenth century — a faith that the beauty created by art is ennobling, and a desire to better the life of working men.

Matthew Arnold (1822–1888)

A Critic. Matthew Arnold, the son of Thomas Arnold, the head master of Rugby, was educated under his father and at Oxford, and was an inspector of schools for a great part of his life. For ten years he held the non-resident professorship of poetry at Oxford, and later he lectured in the United States. His poetry, which is discussed in the next chapter, was written mostly before he was forty; his prose writings began with his essay *On Translating Homer* (1861). The fluctuating moods reflected in his poems had passed; he had attained a fixed and confident attitude toward life, and had determined that it was through prose that he would try to induce the British public to accept his ideas. Like Carlyle, Newman, Ruskin, and Mill, he had become eager to change the world about him. But his method was not that of the prophet or enthusiast, or that of the preacher, or of the scientist. He teased his opponents

instead of denouncing them, and he pointed calmly to this fault or that instead of proclaiming the wrath to come. His method was that of criticism.

Culture. Criticism he defined as the "disinterested endeavor to know the best which has been thought and said in the world." It is the servant of Culture, "the ideal of all-round perfection, of sweetness and light." His volume *Culture and Anarchy* gives his best exposition of Culture, which he conceives as a balanced or perfected development of all man's faculties and which he defines mainly by pointing out hostile tendencies. His attacks are mainly against the great middle class, the Philistines, as he called them, engrossed in money-making and machinery. By machinery he meant not only looms and engines but all organizations, parties, and formulas. It was not from such means of efficiency that one could secure sweetness and light, grace and knowledge, the perfection of the spirit.

Criticism and Literature. Criticism was to be the servant of literature not in the sense that it was to be a disciple admiring and interpreting, but rather in the sense that it was to prepare the way for better and greater efforts. It was to point out the faults, indicate the needs, suggest the steps leading to perfection. In Arnold's view much English literature, and especially that of the romanticists, showed the lack of a basis of criticism, of a common agreement as to what was the best that was known and thought. He liked to turn to Greece for the best models and to France for an example of a guiding criticism. Or, following the method of the French critic Sainte-Beuve, he sought to indicate by a study of great writers both their merits and defects; or to select passages that might serve as the touchstone of poetry. In short, Arnold believed in standards, and at a time when literature was greatly increasing in volume and variety he preached the need of maintaining the neglected qualities of dignity, harmony, simplicity. It will be seen that Arnold's critical essays have a purpose somewhat

different from Johnson's dogmatic judgments or Hazlitt's brilliant appreciations. They seek to test the author in accord with standards which Arnold keeps in view and which he wishes to impress on the reader.

An Ethical Teacher. But literature with Arnold is never divorced from morality. He regards literature as a "criticism of life," and he includes a moral criticism. The final test which he applies to all writers is the test of moral greatness. A full study of Arnold's doctrine of Culture would carry us outside of literature and into the discussion of politics, religion, and biblical criticism, to which he contributed several books. His writings in these fields indicate his concern that criticism should be broad in its scope and that it should encourage a culture that should give free play for every kind of activity. But in every field, culture was in Arnold's view ethical as well as intellectual and artistic. Though his way of writing may seem at times jaunty and even flippant in comparison with the intenseness of Carlyle and Ruskin, he was scarcely less serious than they. It was a better world that he sought — one more intelligent, more cultivated, more artistic, but above all, a better world, one advancing more surely and more steadily toward perfection.

The Scientists

Literature and Science. In his address on Literature and Science, Arnold gives an admirable statement of the scope of literature, within which he includes "what in modern times has been thought and said by the great observers and knowers of nature." We have already noted that in this period the scientific study of nature made advances which revolutionized man's ideas and affected almost every field of his activity. The exposition of this new knowledge and its application to life was made by men who were great writers as well as great scientists, and their books must have a place even in a brief survey of literature.

Darwin. Charles Darwin (1809–1882) was born in the same year as Tennyson, Gladstone, and Lincoln. A few years after graduating at Cambridge, he went as naturalist on the war ship *Beagle*, which made an extensive surveying expedition that lasted five years. This experience, which Darwin himself declared was " by far the most important event in my life, and has determined my whole career," gave him remarkable opportunity for large collections of plants and animals. The results were set forth in his first book, *A Naturalist's Voyage*, one of the most delightful books ever written by a naturalist. In 1839 he married and went to live in the country house of Down in Kent, which remained his home until death. Here a large family of children grew up around him, and here he worked steadily and constantly, carrying on countless experiments and writing many books. He suffered from an inherited form of dyspepsia; but, unlike Carlyle, he bore his ill health with the greatest cheeriness. One of his college friends described him as " not only great but preëminently good and just and lovable." This was the impression that he made on all who knew him in later life. His letters give a fascinating view of the modesty and honesty and of the cheerfulness under suffering of this man of tremendous intellect.

His Great Discovery. As early as 1838 Darwin had concluded that new species of plants and animals were created through the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. It was, however, only after nearly twenty years of further study and experimentation that he determined to make public his theory of the evolution of species by means of natural selection.

In 1856 Darwin began to write out his theories at great length, but before he had finished, he received from Alfred Wallace an essay which contained exactly the same theory of variability from type as Darwin had discovered. Wallace is to be credited with a brilliant discovery, but to Darwin belongs the credit not only for priority but for establishing his theory

by proofs in connection with a systematic and comprehensive study of physical species. It is to the great honor of both men that each gave the other full and generous credit without the slightest touch of jealousy.

Evolution. The great work *On the Origin of Species* appeared in 1859 and the evolutionary theory was applied to the human species in *The Descent of Man* (1871). Of his many other scientific books one of the most attractive for the ordinary reader is *The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms.* "This is a subject of but small importance," Darwin wrote; "and I know not whether it will interest many readers, but it has interested me." The book is a literary triumph, for it succeeds in interesting others in what interested the author. *The Life and Letters* included an autobiographical chapter from which we may quote the paragraph which with characteristic modesty analyzes the qualities that led to his success.

> My success as a man of science, whatever this may have amounted to, has been determined as far as I can judge by complex and diversified mental qualities and conditions. Of these, the most important have been the love of science, unbounded patience in long reflecting over any subject, industry in observing and collecting facts, and a fair share of invention as well as common sense. With such moderate abilities as I possess, it is truly surprising that I should have influenced to a considerable extent the belief of scientific men on some important points.

Huxley and Tyndall. Among the ardent supporters of Darwinism were two brilliant investigators, Thomas Huxley and John Tyndall, and their writings not only contributed to scientific knowledge but helped to impress the new view of nature on the general reader. Huxley in particular became a popular expounder of Darwinism and a vigorous pleader for freedom of thought and openness of mind to new truth. As a lecturer and an essayist he had a remarkable power in making scientific facts appeal to the imagination. He can start with a piece of chalk, and from the knowledge which science has ac-

cumulated about that common object, succeed in giving us glimpses of the great system and progress of nature. Among his most read books are *Man's Place in Nature*, *Lay Sermons*, and *American Addresses*.

Summary

Other Writers. Though we have discussed only a few of the most representative writers of the Victorian epoch, their work has suggested the extent and variety of prose literature. There were masters of style besides those whom we have examined, notably Walter Pater, an appreciative critic of literature, art, and culture, whose prose was singularly responsive to the finer shades of meaning and feeling. Among the great scientists whom we have not mentioned was Michael Faraday, the leader in revolutionary discoveries about electricity. There were also many writers on philosophy, economics, religion, education, and sociology; and no period has a larger roll of eminent historians. J. R. Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, and J. A. Froude, biographer of Carlyle and historian of the sixteenth century, were successful, like Macaulay, in making history interesting to the ordinary reader. Among our political orators and writers were three men of outstanding eminence, though of very different characteristics — Gladstone, Bright, and Disraeli.

Specialization. In the Victorian period, moreover, there was an enormous amount of interesting and informing writing in special fields but little traversed in earlier periods. A great number of books were written for and about children, among them Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*. Such subjects as Travel, Sport, Humor gathered special literatures of their own. The reviews and weeklies and daily newspapers contained a vast deal of reading matter, much of which would have been classified as important literature in any preceding period. The writers we have studied illustrate this specializing, for Carlyle

and Macaulay were historians, Newman a theologian, Mill an economist, and Ruskin an art critic. There are few important books in the period that are pure literature in the sense that they do not demand a special interest in some special field of knowledge.

An Instrument of Reform. In 1830 men were turning to literature with the belief that it would discover a revelation of truth and beauty. In 1880 they found literature a guide and aid to practical improvement. Prose had become the expression and discussion of ideas about every subject and suited to every class of readers. The great writers who were most gifted with the power to appeal to the imagination, turned aside from creating things of beauty to preaching things of practice. Carlyle grew always more insistent on duty and work, and less interested in art or beauty by themselves. Arnold gave up poetry "to get at the British public." Ruskin gave up art criticism to try to better the lot of the working-man. Literature was not content to be merely a fine art, to pursue the goal of harmonious and noble expression; it was eager to be the instrument of reform, to influence conduct, to aid in making the world better.

Guides to Study

Reading. Carlyle's Past and Present, Ruskin's Time and Tide, Arnold's Culture and Anarchy, and Mill's Essay on Liberty are four important books that should be read if time permits. Selections from the prose writers are to be found in all the collections. The following are of special value—Carlyle: Essays on Burns and on Boswell's Johnson; The French Revolution, Vol. I, Book V, chap. vii; Sartor Resartus, Book II, chap. vi; Heroes and Hero Worship. Macaulay: Essays on Milton, Addison, Boswell's Johnson, and Byron; History of England, chap. iii. Ruskin: Sesame and Lilies. Arnold: Essays on Wordsworth and Byron. Huxley: A Piece of Chalk. Further reading may be recommended in Carlyle's Sartor Resartus and French Revolution, Ruskin's Modern Painters, Newman's novels, and Arnold's essays. For historical background, McCarthy's Short History of Our Own Times.

Questions. What is the importance of the year 1832? What were the indications of a new era in poetry and prose at this time? What signs of political reform? What changes were taking place in industry? What is the industrial revolution? In what respects is the daily life of the average person very different to-day from what it was in 1832? What new problems of government were then arising? How was literature affected by the changes in politics and industry?

In what ways was Carlyle's influence very important? Tell of his early life up to the publication of Sartor Resartus. Who visited Carlyle at Craigenputtock? What is the theme of Sartor Resartus? What is the "Everlasting No"? the "gospel of work"? Describe the circumstances of the writing of the French Revolution. Who were some of Carlyle's heroes? What type of man does he most admire? Describe the plan of Past and Present. To what extent was Carlyle a revolutionist? What did he think of democracy? of Bismarck? Name some of Carlyle's friends. Tell something about each of them. In what respects was Carlyle a great artist? a prophet? What passages from your reading in Carlyle do you remember? What moral lessons did he preach?

Compare the personality of Macaulay and Carlyle. What differences do you note in their early lives, their styles, their interests, and their ambitions? Tell of Macaulay's political life. What were his extraordinary gifts? What was his chief literary work? Tell some of the evidences of its popularity. What can you say of his sentence structure? of his allusions? Find a paragraph which illustrates their abundance. Give some instances of Macaulay's wonderful memory; of his use of antithesis. Compare Macaulay and Carlyle on Boswell.

Who were the Tractarians? What was Newman's autobiographical work? Contrast Newman's view of the modern world with the views of Carlyle and Macaulay. How did John Stuart Mill differ from all three? Which of Mill's works deals with woman suffrage? What are his views on liberty?

How much younger was Ruskin than Carlyle? Tell of his boyhood. What preparation did it supply for his later work? What had he accomplished by 1842? What is the thesis of Modern Painters? What is Ruskin's idea of the purpose of art? What parallels are there between painting and literature? What was Ruskin's occupation for twenty years? What is the great value of Modern Painters? What other books on art did Ruskin write? Which deals with Gothic architecture? What is the subject of Stones of Venice? What change occurred in Ruskin's later work? How is Carlyle's influence shown in the work of many young men of this period? What was its effect on Ruskin? What were his schemes for social reform? In what two books does he outline them? Was Ruskin practical? What

valuable advice do you find in Sesame and Lilies? Describe the St. George's Guild. What does the name mean? What are some inconsistencies in Ruskin's character? In what respects was he great? Summarize his teaching; his two ideals.

What do you know of Dr. Arnold of Rugby? What were Matthew Arnold's occupations? When did he change from poetry to prose? To what cause was this due? In what ways was Arnold a reformer? What was his method? Define culture according to Arnold. What do you think of his method of reforming the British public as compared with Carlyle's? What phrases of his have become proverbial? What did he mean by Philistines? What was his theory of literary criticism? What was noble in his teaching?

What names stand for the advances of science in this period? Name some great men born in 1809. What event determined Darwin's career? What was Darwin's character? Name his great work. Huxley and Tyndall hold what place in the accomplishment of this period?

Mention five other prose writers of the Victorian epoch, identifying each. What variety of writing have you noted? What change in attitude toward literature took place between 1830 and 1880?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. What I See in the Portraits of Carlyle, Newman, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, and Macaulay. Industrial Conditions in 1832. Hero Worship To-day. Carlyle and His Wife. The Religious Experience of John Henry Newman, or Matthew Arnold. Matthew Arnold in an American City. Ruskin's Childhood (see Præterita). Ruskin Describes a Skyscraper. Ruskin on Reading for Women.

Chronological Table, 1832–1881

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1832. Scott, Bentham, and Crabbe died.	1832. Goethe died.	1832. Reform Bill.
1833. Browning, *Pauline*. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*. Tennyson, *Poems*.	1833. Balzac, *Eugénie Grandet*.	1833. Tractarian Movement began.
1834. Dickens, *Sketches by Boz*. Bulwer-Lytton, *Last Days of Pompeii*. Coleridge and Lamb died.	1834. Balzac, *Père Goriot*. Bancroft, *History of United States*, Vol. I.	
1835. Browning, *Paracelsus*.	1835. De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. Longfellow, *Outre Mer*.	1835. Morse's invention of telegraph instrument.
1836. Dickens, *Pickwick Papers*. Marryat, *Mr. Midshipman Easy*.	1836. Holmes, *Poems*. Whittier, *Voices of Freedom*.	
1837. Browning, *Strafford*. Carlyle, *French Revolution*. Dickens, *Oliver Twist*. Thackeray, *Yellowplush Papers*. Swinburne born.	1837. Hawthorne, *Twice Told Tales*. Pushkin died.	1837. Victoria.
1838. E. Barrett (Mrs. Browning), *Seraphim and Other Poems*. Dickens, *Nicholas Nickleby*. Lover, *Handy Andy*.		1838. Chartist agitation, continued until 1848.
1839. Bulwer, *Richelieu*. Carlyle, *Chartism*.		
1840. Browning, *Sordello*. Dickens, *Old Curiosity Shop*. Hardy born.		1840. Penny Post.
1841. Browning, *Pippa Passes*. Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship*. Newman, *Tract No. 90*. *Punch*.	1841. Cooper, *Deerslayer*. Dumas, *Monte Cristo* (begun).	1841. Faraday discovered induction of electrical currents. Free Trade agitation.
1842. Dickens, *American Notes*. Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*. Tennyson, *Poems*.	1842. Georges Sand, *Consuelo*.	
1843. Browning, *Blot in the 'Scutcheon*. Carlyle, *Past and Present*. Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Christmas Carol*. J. S. Mill, *Logic*. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Vol. I. Southey died. Wordsworth poet laureate.	1843. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*.	1843. First public telegraph line, Great Western R.R.
1844. Disraeli, *Coningsby*. Thackeray, *Barry Lyndon*. Campbell died.	1844. Dumas, *Three Musketeers*.	
1845. Browning, *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*. Carlyle, *Cromwell*.	1845. Hawthorne, *Mosses from an Old Manse*. Poe, *The Raven and Other Poems*.	1845. Secession of Newman and others from Church of England.
1846. C., E., and A. Brontë, *Poems*. Dickens, *Dombey and Son*. Landor, *Imaginary Conversations* (last series).		1846. Repeal of Corn Laws Famine in Ireland. 1846–48. United States and Mexico at war.
1847. C. Brontë, *Jane Eyre*. Tennyson, *The Princess*. Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*.	1847. Longfellow, *Evangeline*.	
1848. M. Arnold, *Strayed Reveller and Other Poems*. Clough, *Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*. Macaulay, *History of England*, Vols. I and II. J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*.	1848. Lowell, *Biglow Papers*.	1848. Revolution in France, Louis Napoleon, president of the Republic. Attempted revolutions in Austria, Prussia, Hungary, Italy and Spain.

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1849. Dickens, *David Copperfield.* Mrs. Gaskell, *Mary Barton.* Kingsley, *Alton Locke.* Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture.* Thackeray, *Pendennis.*	1849. Emerson, *Representative Men.* Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi.* Poe died.	
1850. Mrs. Browning, *Sonnets from the Portuguese.* Carlyle, *Latter Day Pamphlets.* Tennyson, *In Memoriam.* Wordsworth, *Prelude* (wr. 1805). Wordsworth died. Tennyson poet laureate. *The Germ.*	1850. Balzac died. De Maupassant born.	
1851. Carlyle, *John Sterling.* Ruskin, *Stones of Venice,* Vol. I.	1851. Hawthorne, *House of Seven Gables.* Cooper died.	1851. First Great Exhibition at London.
1852. Dickens, *Bleak House.* Thackeray, *Henry Esmond.*	1852. H. B. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*	1852. Napoleon III Emperor of France.
1853. Mrs. Gaskell, *Cranford.* Landor, *Last Fruit Off an Old Tree.*	1853. Mommsen, *Roman History.*	1853. Japan makes treaties with England and United States.
1854. Thackeray, *Newcomes.*		1854. Crimean War.
1855. Browning, *Men and Women.* Dickens, *Little Dorrit.* Kingsley, *Westward Ho!* Spencer, *Principles of Psychology.* Tennyson, *Maud.*	1855. Longfellow, *Hiawatha.*	1855. Fall of Sebastopol. Tax on newspapers finally abolished.
1856. Mrs. Browning, *Aurora Leigh.* Froude, *History of England.*	1856. Heine died.	1856. Treaty of Paris ends Crimean War.
1857. Buckle, *History of Civilization.* Hughes, *Tom Brown's School Days.* Reade, *Never Too Late To Mend.* Trollope, *Barchester Towers.*	1857. Flaubert, *Madame Bovary.* Beranger, Comte, and De Musset died.	1857. Indian Mutiny.
1858. Carlyle, *Frederick II,* Vols. I and II. George Eliot, *Scenes from Clerical Life.* W. Morris, *Defence of Guinevere.* Tennyson, *Idylls of the King* (four).	1858. Holmes, *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.*	
1859. Darwin, *Origin of Species.* Dickens, *Tale of Two Cities.* George Eliot, *Adam Bede.* Fitzgerald, Trans. *Omar Khayyám.* J. S. Mill, *On Liberty. Macmillan's Magazine.* De Quincey, L. Hunt, and Macaulay died.	1859. Washington Irving died.	
1860. W. Collins, *Woman in White.* Dickens, *Great Expectations.* Eliot, *Mill on the Floss.* Ruskin, *Modern Painters* finished. *Cornhill Magazine.*	1860. Tolstoi, *War and Peace.*	1860. Lincoln president of United States. Garibaldi in Sicily.
1861. M. Arnold, *On Translating Homer.* Eliot, *Silas Marner.* Reade, *Cloister and the Hearth.* Mrs. Browning died.		1861. Secession of Southern States, Civil War. William I, King of Prussia. Victor Emmanuel King of Italy. Emancipation of Russian serfs.
1862. G. Meredith, *Poems.* Christina Rossetti, *Goblin Market.* Ruskin, *Unto This Last.* Spencer, *First Principles.* Thackeray, *Round-about Papers.*		1862. Bismarck president of Prussian ministry. Battle of Antietam and Fredericksburg.
1863. Eliot, *Romola.* Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature.* Reade, *Hard Cash.* Thackeray died.	1863. Renan, *Life of Jesus.*	1863. Battle of Gettysburg. Surrender of Vicksburg.

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1864. Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend.* Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua.* Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon.* Tennyson, *Enoch Arden.* Landor died.	1864. Hawthorne died.	1864. Grant's Wilderness Campaign. Sherman's march to the sea.
1865. Carlyle, *Friedrich II* completed. Lewis Carroll, *Alice in Wonderland.* M. Arnold, *Essays in Criticism.* Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies. Fortnightly Review.*		1865. Lee surrendered at Appomattox. Lincoln assassinated.
1866. Eliot, *Felix Holt.* Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive.* Swinburne, *Poems and Ballads.*	1866. Marx, *Kapital.*	1866. Atlantic cable. War between Prussia and Austria.
1867. Ruskin, *Time and Tide.* W. Morris, *Death of Jason.*		1867. Disraeli's Reform Bill passed. Trade Union riots.
1868. Browning, *The Ring and the Book.* W. Collins, *Moonstone.* W. Morris, *Earthly Paradise,* I and II.		
1869. M. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy.* Blackmore, *Lorna Doone.* J. S. Mill, *Subjection of Women.*	1869. Lamartine and Sainte-Beuve died.	1869. Suez Canal opened.
1870. Dickens, *Mystery of Edwin Drood.* Disraeli, *Lothair.* Huxley, *Lay Sermons.* Dickens died.	1870. Bret Harte, *Luck of Roaring Camp.* Dumas, the elder, died.	1870. War between France and Prussia. Battle of Sedan, and Siege of Paris.
1871. Browning, *Balaustion's Adventure.* Darwin, *Descent of Man.* Eliot, *Middlemarch.* Meredith, *Harry Richmond.* Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera* begun.		1871. Proclamation of German Empire at Versailles. Commune at Paris.
1872. Forster, *Life of Dickens.* Hardy, *Under the Greenwood Tree.*		
1873. M. Arnold, *Literature and Dogma.* J. S. Mill, *Autobiography.* Pater, *Studies in the Renaissance.* J. S. Mill died.		
1874. Green, *Short History of the English People.* Hardy, *Far from the Madding Crowd.* L. Stephen, *Hours in a Library.*	1874. Victor Hugo, *Quatre Vingt Treize.*	1874. Disraeli prime minister.
1875. Meredith, *Beauchamp's Career.* Tennyson, *Queen Mary.* Kingsley died.	1875. Andersen died.	1875. Bell's first telephone.
1876. Eliot, *Daniel Deronda.* Morris, *Sigurd the Volsung.* Spencer, *Principles of Sociology.*	1876. Georges Sand died.	
1877. Hardy, *Return of the Native.* Tennyson, *Harold.*	1877. Ibsen, *Pillars of Society.* Turgenieff, *Virgin Soil.* Tolstoi, *Anna Karenina.*	1877. Russo-Turkish War. Edison's telephone receiver and transmitter.
1878. Lecky, *History of England in 18th Century.*		1878. The Congress of Berlin.
1879. Browning, *Dramatic Idyls.* Meredith, *Egoist.* Newman made a cardinal.	1879. Ibsen, *Doll's House.* Zola, *L'Assommoir.* H. James, *Daisy Miller.*	1879. First Land League.
1880. Disraeli, *Endymion.* Swinburne, *Songs of the Spring Tides.*	1880. Flaubert died.	1880. Gladstone prime minister.
1881. Carlyle, *Reminiscences.* Morley, *Life of Cobden.* D. G. Rossetti, *Ballads and Sonnets.* Stevenson, *Virginibus Puerisque.* Swinburne, *Mary Stuart.* Carlyle and Disraeli died.	1881. Ibsen, *Ghosts.*	1881. The Czar Alexander II assassinated. Irish Land Act.

CHAPTER XV

MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY POETRY, 1832–1881

TENNYSON. Life and Work. Poet and Prophet. Personality. Lyrics. *Maud.* Narratives. *Idylls of the King.* Classical Themes. *English Idylls. The Princess. In Memoriam.* Dramas.

BROWNING. Compared with Tennyson. Early Life. Marriage. Personality. Dramas. *Pippa Passes.* Dramatic Monologues. Lyrics. *The Ring and the Book.* The Poet's Teaching.

OTHER POETS. Mrs. Browning. Religious Doubt. Matthew Arnold. Narrative Poems. The Pre-Raphaelites. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. William Morris. *The Earthly Paradise.* Stories in Verse and Prose. Algernon Swinburne. Tragedies. Lyrics.

SUMMARY.

ALFRED TENNYSON (1809–1892)

The man of letters most representative of the life of England in the last three quarters of the nineteenth century was Alfred Tennyson. He began to publish in 1827, continuing almost to his death in 1892, and for these more than sixty years there are few important currents of thought which cannot be traced in his works.

Life and Work. Born in the rectory of Somersby in Lincolnshire in 1809, Tennyson, like Coleridge, was the son of a clergyman and one of a large family. After some unsatisfactory years at school, his father prepared him for Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was a member of a very distinguished set. His inclination was towards poetry from an early age, and he never equipped himself for any other profession. His first volume was issued in conjunction with two of his brothers, Frederick and Charles, both men of distinct poetic ability, though neither achieved popularity. When he was twenty-one

he published his first work, *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* (1830), a volume mainly interesting as showing the influence of other poets. His *Poems* of 1833 have much more originality, but both of these early publications were severely dealt with by the reviewers. Tennyson's sensitiveness to criticism led him to refrain from appealing to the public again for nine years, and this time he spent in systematic study over a wide field, and in occasional travel. When his next volume appeared, in 1842, he obtained immediate recognition, and for fifty years he was the most popular poet in England. In 1850, on the death of Wordsworth, he was made poet laureate; the success of his books enabled him finally to marry Emily Sellwood, to whom he had been engaged for many years; and he published his great elegy, *In Memoriam.* He continued to live a retired life, though in 1880 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Tennyson d'Eyncourt — the only member of the House of Lords who reached that dignity through poetry. On his death, in 1892, men felt that a chapter in the history of English literature had been closed.

Poet and Prophet. Tennyson is our purest instance of the poet by profession. All his life was devoted to his art, to preparation or practice. Of action in the ordinary sense it is devoid. An existence so withdrawn from the rough-and-tumble of the world would be expected to leave on an author's work a stamp of unreality, and it is useless to deny that to some extent Tennyson suffered from living the life of a recluse. But he had a large circle of friends, ranging from the leaders of the time, like Carlyle and Gladstone, to the laborers on his estate; and he followed with the closest interest all the movements, political, social, and intellectual, of the century. His very detachment made it possible for him to see the direction of these movements more distinctly than the men who were active in them; and his intimacy with these men gave him access to first-hand knowledge. He was thus enabled to become the prophet as well as the poet of his age.

TENNYSON

Personality. The exquisite finish of Tennyson's verse has sometimes given rise to the notion that he was effeminate. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Tall, with a massive head, a swarthy, aquiline face, and a deep, rich voice, he was emphatically "a man's man." The persistent retirement of his life, the severity of his studies and his thinking, and his concentration upon his art were the signs of a strong purpose and a masculine will.

Lyrics. Tennyson's early poems were, as the title of the volume of 1830 stated, chiefly lyrical; and he continued to write lyrics to the end. No English poet has given us songs more finely wrought than he; few have produced a greater variety. They range from the dainty sketches of different types of girls in his early volume through the delicate expression of the domestic emotions in the songs in *The Princess*, the fine idealism that breaks into rime amidst the blank verse of the *Idylls of the King*, the martial energy of war songs like *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, the elegies that make up *In Memoriam*, the passionate outbursts of *Maud*, to the supreme expression of his faith in the great closing lyric, *Crossing the Bar*.

Sunset and evening star
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea.

But such a tide as, moving, seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.

Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;

For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar.

Maud. *Maud*, published in 1855, is described by the author as a monodrama, that is, a dramatic poem with only one speaker. This speaker is a young man with a touch of inherited insanity who raves against the corruptions of the day and, after a disastrous love affair which for a time overthrows his reason, recovers to find a wholesome outlet for his emotions by taking part in what he believes to be a righteous war:

> It's better to fight for the right than to rail at the ill!

Maud contains much vigorous criticism of social conditions, in reading which it is important to remember that the poet is representing a character; but the passages which make the poem rank among Tennyson's greatest are those expressing the growth and culmination of the hero's love. For fineness of emotion and exquisiteness of music and phrase these rival the finest love songs in the language.

Narratives. The most important of Tennyson's narrative poems are the *Idylls of the King*, the *English Idylls*, a group of poems on classical subjects, and *The Princess*. The word "idyll" means a little picture, and it is appropriate to these poems because one of the most striking of their characteristics is that they present the story in a succession of vivid pictures. The first group is one more retelling of those stories of King Arthur which we have found reappearing since the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth in the eleventh century. Out of them Malory had made the greatest prose work of the Middle Ages. Chaucer had touched them, Spenser had used them in *The Faerie Queene*, Milton had meditated taking them for the theme of his master work, and a dozen of minor writers had dealt with them. In each age, poets and prose writers had expressed through them their highest conception of manhood; and in Arthur we have Tennyson's idea of a perfect gentleman.

The Idylls of the King. As the *Idylls* were finally completed and arranged, they form a fairly continuous story of the birth and crowning of Arthur, of his creation of the Round Table

and the ordering of his realm by the suppression of injustice and the righting of wrongs, of the gradual appearance of evil tendencies among his knights and even in his own family, of revolt and disruption, and finally of his passing to the island valley of Avilion. But each of the twelve idylls is a poem by itself, with its own chief figures, and together they scarcely achieve the unity and coherence expected in an epic.

An allegorical element appears at intervals, notably in *The Coming of Arthur* and *The Holy Grail;* and Tennyson himself has indicated that at times Arthur stands for the human soul, or the conscience, and his knights for the "warring senses."

The background is neither that of the actual Celtic world of the historical Arthur, nor of the medieval chivalry of Malory, but an imaginary world of romance for which the real Middle Ages afforded only suggestions. The treatment of morals and the ideals of conduct belong to the reign of Victoria, as those of *The Faerie Queene* to that of Elizabeth. But the background, if unhistorical, is of a rich decorative beauty, and the teaching is noble and lofty; and both are conveyed in a blank verse exquisite in cadence and as distinctly Tennyson's as the blank verse of *Paradise Lost* is Milton's. Some idea of its quality may be gathered from such a passage as the following:

> But the other swiftly strode from ridge to ridge,
> Clothed with his breath, and looking, as he walked,
> Larger than human on the frozen hills.
> He heard the deep behind him, and a cry
> Before. His own thought drove him like a goad.
> Dry clash'd his harness in the icy caves
> And barren chasms, and all to left and right
> The bare black cliff clang'd round him, as he based
> His feet on juts of slippery crag that rang
> Sharp-smitten with the dint of armed heels —
> And on a sudden, lo! the level lake,
> And the long glories of the winter moon.

Classical Themes. The classical poems have in some cases, notably in *The Death of Ænone*, something of the same defect

as the *Idylls of the King* — the introduction of modern standards of behavior into stories which originated among people with quite other ideas. But in *Lucretius* we have a genuinely pagan philosophy, and in *Ulysses* and *The Lotos-Eaters* Tennyson rises above the limitations of a particular period, and expresses in perfect verse phases of the human spirit as it exists in all ages. *Ulysses* embodies the eternal craving for action and new experience; *The Lotos-Eaters*, the mood of fatigue and the yearning for rest.

English Idylls. In the *English Idylls* the poet was completely at home; and in their pictures of English landscape and their stories of English farmers and fishermen in *The Brook*, *Dora*, *The Northern Farmer*, and *Enoch Arden*, he attains a unity of scene and spirit that makes them among the most characteristic expressions of the English country.

The Princess. *The Princess* is a deliberately fantastic treatment of the modern question of the place of woman, set in a background that combines elements of the Middle Ages with those of a modern university. Unity of tone is hardly possible to such a conception; but yet *The Princess* contains much wisdom and much beauty.

In Memoriam. *In Memoriam* was begun shortly after the death of Tennyson's college friend, Arthur Henry Hallam, in 1833, but it was not published till 1850; and in these seventeen years of brooding it had grown from a personal lament over a particular loss to a philosophical poem on death and immortality, on doubt and faith. None of his poems is so representative of the mood of religious thinking in the middle of the century, and no English elegy deals so broadly and so deeply with the ultimate questions of life and death.

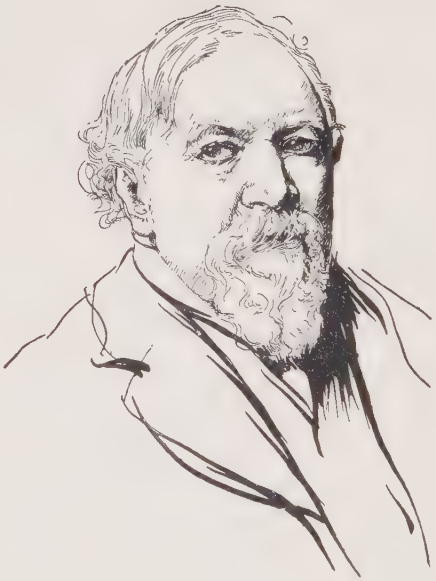
Dramas. In the latter part of his career, Tennyson turned to the drama. His three chief attempts, *Harold*, *Becket*, and *Queen Mary* deal with three great periods of English history; and though they are generally regarded as among his less successful works, and only *Becket* succeeded on the stage, they are among the best historical plays since Shakespeare.

Such are the chief works of Tennyson. How high he will finally rank among English poets is still a matter of discussion; but of these things there can be no question: that he represented with great accuracy the cultivated thinking and feeling of his time and country; that he produced a large body of work, rich and varied in melody, brilliant in imagery, and wise and balanced in thought; and that he preserved throughout a level of workmanship possible only to a great and conscientious artist.

Robert Browning (1812–1889)

Compared with Tennyson. The career of Robert Browning covers much the same period as that of Tennyson, and he also devoted himself entirely to poetry, but in other respects the two men present more points of contrast than of likeness. While Tennyson became officially and in fact the representative popular poet of the England of his day, Browning was through the greater part of his life appreciated only by the few, was as much at home in Italy as in England, and in his work sought to interpret the human spirit as it had shown itself in many countries and ages. Tennyson was noted for the finished harmony of his verse, and the clarity of his thought; Browning offends readers by his apparent carelessness of form and the frequency of his discords, while his obscurity became a byword, and societies were formed to investigate his meaning. Since Tennyson's death, the tendency (especially in America) has been to depreciate his worth; but Browning's reputation and public seem to be still growing.

Early Life. Browning's father was a London banker who was able and willing to afford his son the fullest educational opportunities. Yet he did not put him through the usual round of an English gentleman's training. Instead of sending him to the great public schools, he gave him private tutors; instead of entering Oxford or, like most of the English poets, Cambridge, Browning took classes at London University, an institution



BROWNING

at that time without " college life." That his bent was towards art was early evident, but he hesitated for some time as to whether he should choose music, painting, sculpture, or poetry. His experiments in these various fields gave him an understanding of the fine arts in general far wider than that possessed by any previous English poet, and this understanding affected his poetry. The most powerful influence on his early work was that of Shelley, who is celebrated in his first publication, *Pauline* (1833). With *Paracelsus* he began his attempts at drama, and with his tragedy *Strafford* his work actually reached the stage. He wrote many plays, but his interest was so much stronger in the inner life of men than in their external actions that it was impossible that he could ever have been a great writer for the theater.

Marriage. Elizabeth Barrett, a poetess who had achieved considerable reputation, had mentioned Browning in one of her poems. The poet made this an excuse for calling on her, and the acquaintance rapidly ripened into love. Miss Barrett was supposed to be a confirmed invalid, but in spite of this and of the opposition of her family, Browning married her secretly and carried her off to the Continent. In Italy she gained strength, and there they lived an ideal married life till her death in 1861. The rest of Browning's life was divided between Italy and England, and he died in the little Italian hill-town of Asolo in 1889.

Personality. Though Browning had no business or profession other than poetry, he did not live in retirement like Tennyson. He was fond of society and good living, and his insatiable curiosity led him to take delight in intercourse with all sorts of people. He was a robust and hearty man, full-blooded and abounding in humor; and, though he believed in his poetic vocation, he was not unduly sensitive, and he bore the slow growth of recognition without discontent.

Dramas. In his dramatic writing we may take as representative, *Paracelsus, Strafford, A Blot in the 'Scutcheon,* and *Pippa Passes.* The first of these is rather a series of conversa-

tions than a play. *Strafford* (1837) is a historical drama dealing with the career of Charles I's chief minister of state and the Puritan Revolution. Though the stage is crowded and somewhat too detailed a knowledge of the history of the period is taken for granted, the play contains a number of remarkable portraits of such men as Pym, Hampden, Strafford, and the king, and interprets with sympathy and understanding both sides of the great struggle between Cavalier and Roundhead. *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* is a pathetic tragedy of love and innocence and family pride, which came near being successful when originally produced by the great actor Macready, and which is still occasionally acted.

Pippa Passes. *Pippa Passes* is built on an entirely original plan. A little factory girl from the silk mills of Asolo sets out to enjoy her annual New Year's Day holiday; and as she wanders about the town she passes houses in which the occupants have reached a crisis of their lives. At the crucial moment, a snatch of one of Pippa's songs reaches them, and gives the deciding impulse. At the end of the day she returns to her room unconscious of being of any consequence in the world, yet having in fact profoundly affected the life of whole groups of important people. The little dramas which constitute the successive scenes are wonderfully concentrated; Pippa's songs are delightful lyric fragments; and the heroine herself is one of the most charming figures in poetry.

Dramatic Monologues. In the preface to *Sordello*, one of the most difficult of Browning's poems, he states that his interest is in the development of a soul — "nothing else is worth study." It is this interest which is dominant in the most valuable section of his work, that represented by the group called *Men and Women* (1855). These poems are dramatic in the sense that a character and sometimes a situation are expressed not by the poet in his own person, but by words put into the mouth of the character himself, by dramatic monologue. In his earlier volumes of *Dramatic Lyrics* and *Dramatic Romances*

Browning had already used this form, which, though one cannot say he invented it, was made by him so thoroughly his own and handled in so characteristic a fashion that it must be regarded as one of his important contributions to the forms of English poetry. The men and women are of all kinds, all countries, all times. A medieval schoolman reasoning on predestination in *Johannes Agricola in Meditation*, a court lady planning the poisoning of her rival in *The Laboratory*, a painter discussing his art and life in *Andrea del Sarto*, a Renaissance bishop giving directions for his monument in *The Bishop Orders his Tomb*, an Arab medical student reporting to his master on the raising of Lazarus in *Karshish* — such are a few typical figures. Vivid and passionate, these portraits of people of all sorts and conditions, drawn in their own utterances at critical moments of their lives, are among the most freshly imagined, most penetrating, and most suggestive treatments of human nature in English poetry.

As Browning grew older, his poems became more philosophical, and the emphasis changed from character to opinion. He continued to present figures drawn from remote corners of history, but they became more and more mouthpieces for the poet's own ideas. Thus, though these later works are of great importance for the student of Browning's thought, they are of less value as poetry.

Lyrics. Scattered through the longer works, and written also as separate poems, are a large number of lyrics. Many of these are again dramatic, a few of the most passionate are personal. The best of them are clear and melodious, true outbursts of feeling in pure song; some are blurred and ineffective through imperfect expression, or grotesque from eccentric riming. His work is more uneven than Tennyson's because he did not always have patience to work out a form appropriate to his theme. Several of these characteristics are illustrated in his *Prospice*, which may be suggestively compared with Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar*.

Fear death? — to feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face,
When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
I am nearing the place,
The power of the night, the press of the storm,
The post of the foe,
Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form,
Yet the strong man must go;
For the journey is done and the summit attained,
And the barriers fall,
Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
The reward of it all.
I was ever a fighter, so — one fight more,
The best and the last!
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
And bade me creep past.
No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers
The heroes of old,
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears,
Of pain, darkness and cold.
For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
The black minute's at end,
And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
Then a light, then thy breast,
O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,
And with God be the rest!

The Ring and the Book. Browning's longest poem is again on an original plan. *The Ring and the Book* (1868), the first important work accomplished after the death of his wife, is based upon an "old yellow book" picked up by the poet on a bookstall, and containing the account of an old Italian trial for murder. The story is told first impartially by the poet, then again as dramatic monologue by "one half Rome," then by the other half, then by a certain third party. The later books give it from the point of view of each of the main actors in the tragedy in turn, so that all together the plot is gone over some twelve times. The point is the difficulty of arriving at

pure fact — the enormous difference made by the point of view. In spite of the great length and the inevitable amount of repetition involved in the plan, it holds the attention to an extraordinary degree, contains much fine and subtle characterization and numerous passages of noble and eloquent poetry.

Browning, then, produced a large amount of verse, the main characteristic of which is the presentation of endlessly varied specimens of human nature by means of dramatic utterance. His method is suggestive rather than explicit, and he makes large demands on the reader's imagination and attention. Often a careless or apparently mischievous humor leads him to indulge in obscurities or roughness which hinder enjoyment; but there remains a large enough body of portraiture, of story, and of song, of such excellence as to place him among the great poets.

The Poet's Teaching. The conception of poetry as a medium for the poet's views on the great problems of life which has been several times noted as particularly characteristic of the writers of this period, was carried by Browning farther than by any of his peers. He deals with a great variety of problems, but certain ideas are expressed with especial frequency. Occupying himself with imperfect characters, he finds support for his hopeful view of human nature in emphasizing the supreme importance of aspiration:

> 'Tis not what man does that exalts him, but what man would do!

Though primarily interested in the souls of men, he feels and expresses with zest the thrill of sensuous life, "the value and significance of flesh"; and the range of character exhibited in his dramatic sketches bears witness to his immense curiosity and the pleasure he took in the endless variations of human nature.

Browning departed more freely than most of his contemporaries from the themes and methods which since the romantic revival were becoming conventional; and the freshness of his treatment and the boldness of his experiments resulted in widen-

ing the boundaries of his art and so affected to an important degree the future of English poetry.

Other Poets

Mrs. Browning. Mrs. Browning is usually regarded as the chief of English poetesses. Treated, as has been said, as an invalid during most of her youth, her experience of actual life before Browning married her was naturally limited. She was well educated, even learned, but her education was obtained almost exclusively from books. The poems to which she owes most of her reputation to-day are the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, which are not from the Portuguese at all, but are the passionate expression of her love for the man who was to be her husband. They are among the most intimate of English love poems, and, in spite of technical imperfections, rank on account of the depth and purity of their feeling and the warmth of their expression with all but the greatest of English sonnet sequences.

Mrs. Browning wrote other, less notable, sonnets, some dramas, which were not meant for the stage and which no one reads now, translations from the Greek, stories like *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*, and *The Forced Recruit*, verging on the sentimental, a handful of lyrics, such as *Cowper's Grave* and the delightful piece of melody called *A Musical Instrument*, and one long novel in verse, *Aurora Leigh*. This last contains a good deal of veiled autobiography, and is interesting apart from its plot as expressing the ideas of a cultivated lady of the middle of the nineteenth century on a large number of religious, social, and artistic questions; but it is hardly vigorous enough in imagination to hold a high place either as a novel or as a poem.

On the whole, the work of Mrs. Browning is that of a talented woman of wide reading and fine feeling, sheltered from the stress of the outside world and deprived of the bracing air of criticism. Only a little of it is of permanent value, but this little is distinctly individual in its delicate intensity.

Religious Doubt. Religious doubt was especially prominent in the intellectual life of the middle of the nineteenth century, and both Tennyson and Browning treated it in characteristic fashion. The attitude of the former may be represented by what he says of Arthur Hallam, on whom he wrote his great elegy:

> Perplext in faith, but pure in deeds,
> At last he beat his music out.
> There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds.
>
> He fought his doubts and gather'd strength,
> He would not make his judgment blind,
> He faced the spectres of the mind
> And laid them. . . .

Tennyson's religious poetry is in general the expression of a spirit heavily conscious of uncertainty, but struggling through to a footing of faith. Browning's position is more confident.

> What matter though I doubt at every pore,
> Head-doubts, heart-doubts, doubts at my fingers' ends,
> Doubts in the trivial work of every day,
> Doubts at the very bases of my soul
> In the grand moments when she probes herself —
> If finally I have a life to show?

His emphasis on aspiration and his high valuation of fullness of life made doubt seem to him a less than tragic fact and kept it from depressing him.

Matthew Arnold. In Matthew Arnold one feels that doubt, if it did not overwhelm him, overclouded his sky and gave to his poetry an accent of hesitation, a prevailing tone of regret for the days when men were sure of everything. When Arnold went up to Oxford he bore already that mark of extreme seriousness with which the powerful moral influence of Thomas Arnold was apt to stamp the Rugby boys of his time. Oxford was then profoundly occupied with religious questions, was, indeed, in the midst of that movement which centered in Newman and

which finally led him to the Roman Catholic Church. Arnold moved in the opposite direction, away from the beliefs of the English Church in which he had been brought up, and his later prose writings on religion were regarded in his day as dangerously liberal.

Arnold's poetry belongs to the earlier part of his career. It reflects, as has been indicated, the religious unrest of the time, and its tone is for the most part subdued and melancholy. But because the mood of doubt is not confined to any one period, men still find satisfaction in Arnold's often beautiful expression of the yearning for assurance on the great questions of life and death, and of the tired resignation which gives up the problems as hopeless and turns to find consolation in nature and human love. These feelings pervade such poems as *Thyrsis*, an elegy on his friend and fellow poet, Arthur Hugh Clough, *Obermann*, *Rugby Chapel*, on his father's death, *Dover Beach*, *Empedocles on Ætna*, and many more. Of the many poignantly phrased expressions of this mood, these verses are typical.

REQUIESCAT

Strew on her roses, roses,
With never a spray of yew;
In quiet she reposes,
Ah, would that I did too.

Her life was turning, turning,
In mazes of heat and sound;
But for peace her heart was yearning,
And now peace laps her round.

Her cabin'd, ample spirit,
It fluttered and failed for breath;
To-night it doth inherit
The vasty hall of death.

Narrative Poems. But Arnold sought to do more in his poetry than to utter the turmoil of his spirit. Brought up in the classical tradition of English education, he attempts in his

narrative poetry to reproduce something of the restrained and ordered beauty of the Greeks. In *Sohrab and Rustum*, an old Persian story of a father who meets his lost son in single combat and recognizes him only after he has mortally wounded him, we have many reminiscences of the Homeric manner; but even here the modern romantic melancholy appears through the classical form. Arnold touched the ever recurrent Arthurian theme in his dramatic poem on *Tristram and Iseult*, but though the poem contains much beauty of feeling and expression, the tone is as modern as Tennyson's. *Balder Dead* is another effort after classical epic style, the theme this time from the Norse mythology. These are all manifestly the work of an accomplished and sensitive writer; it is the absence of the fiery energy of Browning, the imaginative intensity of Shakespeare that makes them after all the production of a minor poet. Yet his work has a beauty of its own, and the minor key of much of his verse charms us after the robust energy of Browning, as his restraint and simplicity afford a pleasing contrast to the rich elaborateness of Tennyson.

The Pre-Raphaelites. In the middle of the nineteenth century, English painting had become dead and stereotyped. The typical works exhibited annually at the Royal Academy were studies of historical subjects which followed a tradition and lacked the freshness of individual feeling or of actual contact with nature. A group of young artists revolted against this and formed themselves into the so-called Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, using this name because they wished to recapture the simplicity and naturalness and feeling of the mystery of things which they found in the Italian painters before Raphael. Their program included sculpture and poetry as well as painting; and they founded a periodical, *The Germ*, to expound their views and publish their verse. Among them was Dante Gabriel Rossetti, painter and poet; his brother William Michael, a critic; William Holman Hunt and John Everett Millais, painters; and Thomas Woolner, a sculptor. They acted to-

gether for only a short time; some fell out of sympathy with the movement; and later men like Morris and Swinburne, who were not of the original group, became chiefly, because of their association with the Rossettis, connected in the popular mind with the Brotherhood.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1892) was the son of an Italian scholar exiled in England, and both in poetry and painting he is the best representative of Pre-Raphaelitism. The "return to nature" appears in his work in the faithful treatment of minute detail rather than in making his works as wholes close imitations of reality. The religious awe of the early Italians he could only reproduce artificially, for he lacked their faith; and though he often painted religious themes, it is with a sense of their picturesqueness rather than of their religious value. The same is true of the echoes of medieval religion in his poetry. It has much of a richly colored, highly decorative beauty; but it constantly suggests the library as his pictures suggest the studio.

His important poems fall into two classes, lyric and narrative. Chief of the first class is his sonnet sequence, *The House of Life*, the expression of his love for his wife, whose death two years after their marriage all but wrecked the poet's life. The unpublished manuscript was buried with his wife, and it was with difficulty that his friends later obtained his consent to its rescue and publication. As intimate and passionate as the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, these poems at their best reach a depth of feeling that place them among the greatest love poems in our literature; but their appeal as a whole is lessened by their frequent obscurity. The narrative poems are mainly in the ballad form, often using archaic words and refrains. The best of them is *The King's Tragedy*, a superb telling of the death of James I of Scots, full of dramatic power; others, each with an individual excellence, are *The White Ship*, *Sister Helen*, and *Rose Mary*. As an instance of Pre-Raphaelite principles, and of the extraordinary approximation of poetry and painting

under their influence, one should compare Rossetti's early poem, *The Blessed Damozel*, with the picture of the same subject. The pictorial quality of the verses can be seen in the opening lines:

The blessed damozel leaned out
From the gold bar of Heaven;
Her eyes were deeper than the depth
Of waters stilled at even;
She had three lilies in her hand,
And the stars in her hair were seven.

Her robe, ungirt from clasp to hem,
No wrought flowers did adorn,
But a white rose of Mary's gift
For service meekly worn;
Her hair that lay along her back
Was yellow like ripe corn.

The particularity and vividness with which details are here presented to our mental vision, though the scene is like nothing in experience, are thoroughly characteristic of the combination of imagination with some elements of realism in detail which marks the Pre-Raphaelite manner.

William Morris. If Tennyson and Browning are remarkable for the exclusiveness of their devotion to poetry, William Morris is as remarkable for the range and variety of his activities. He not only produced a large amount of literature in verse and prose, but he was and is an influence of the first rank in applied art. No man has exerted so powerful an effect upon taste in the things that surround us in our everyday lives. We sit in the Morris chair which he invented, we walk on carpets copied from those which he designed and manufactured, our walls are covered with his wall papers and hung with his tapestries. At the Kelmscott Press, which he founded, he set new standards for the printing and binding and illustrating of books; and his passion for honesty in workmanship gave an impulse which is still felt over the civilized world.

Yet Morris was more interested in the workmen than in the

work. None of the original Pre-Raphaelites had so profound a knowledge and so intense a love of the Middle Ages as he; and he sought to regain for the modern artisan something of the freedom to develop his individuality that gave quality to the handicraft of the medieval workman. So he revolted against the modern factory system and modern capitalism, joined the Socialist League, marched in street demonstrations, and got arrested. Towards the end of his life, he bent his literary powers more and more to the service of his social ideals, writing *Chants for Socialists* and prose romances which pictured life in a simple Utopian society such as he would have liked to substitute for our complex civilization.

Morris's first publications showed little promise of this intense interest in modern social conditions. They began with *The Defence of Guinevere*, a passionate and gorgeously wrought fragment of Arthurian story, and the same perennial source of inspiration appeared in *King Arthur's Tomb*.

The Earthly Paradise. His longest work, *The Earthly Paradise*, consists of twenty-four stories from northern and classical mythology and legend told by a band of Scandinavians who have sailed away from a pestilence and by their Greek hosts on an island on which they are wrecked. This mass of narrative, somewhat slow moving but delightful for long holiday leisure, is reminiscent of Boccaccio and Chaucer, and it is introduced by an Apology which expresses his earlier attitude towards social wrong.

> Dreamer of dreams, born out of my due time,
> Why should I strive to set the crooked straight?
> Let it suffice me that my murmuring rhyme
> Beats with light wing against the ivory gate,
> Telling a tale not too importunate
> To those who in the sleepy region stay,
> Lulled by the singer of an empty day.

Stories in Verse and Prose. Later in fluent and often vigorous verse he retold the Greek legend of *Jason*, the great Teu-

tonic saga of *Sigurd the Volsung*, the older version of the German *Nibelungenlied*, and wrote a number of imitations of Old French and English ballads and lyrics full of Pre-Raphaelite pictures and refrains. The best known of his prose romances are *The House of the Wolfings*, *The Story of the Glittering Plain*, *The Sundering Flood*, and *The Roots of the Mountains*, quiet tales of a society that reminds us of the background of *Beowulf;* while *The Dream of John Ball* and *News from Nowhere* are a kind of poetic socialist propaganda. Thus in his books as in his life the "idle singer of an empty day" turned to "setting the crooked straight."

Swinburne. It helps us to bind the generations together if we remember that Swinburne, who lived into the present decade until after the accession of George V, was the friend of Landor; and that Landor was nine years old when Dr. Johnson died, and was twenty when Keats was born. On the question of the quality of no poet of the time is there greater difference of opinion among critics than in the case of Swinburne. In general it may be said that those who put great stress on the musical element in poetry regard him as one of our greatest poets; while those who seek for depth and originality of thought find him of little interest. It is certainly the fact that he has seldom or never been surpassed in the mastery of meter. He wrote in nearly all the English measures that had ever been employed, and he invented many of his own. Words came to him with an ease that was sometimes overwhelming, and it often happens that the rush of his rhythm and the clash of his alliteration and rhyme absorb our attention so completely that we hardly notice whatever thought may be there.

When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces,
The mother of months in meadow or plain
Fills the shadows and windy places
With lisp of leaves and ripple of rain;
And the brown bright nightingale amorous
Is half assuaged for Itylus,
For the Thracian ships and all the pain

This stanza, from a chorus in his *Atalanta in Calydon* is a characteristic example of his headlong music. No one with an ear can fail to be carried away by its irresistible movement, to be amazed at the alliterative feats it exhibits; many readers will hardly notice what it is about.

Tragedies. Swinburne was a good Greek scholar, and the work from which these lines are taken is perhaps the most successful attempt in modern poetry to reproduce the form and effect of Greek tragedy. He wrote several other dramas, notably a trilogy on Mary, Queen of Scots, in which his model is Elizabethan. These plays are full of eloquent and poetic passages, but the poet's lack of power to restrain his fluency and concentrate his thought led him to prolong them unconscionably. A single one of the three, *Bothwell,* contains five times as many lines as *Hamlet.*

The same tendency to extreme length appears in his chief narrative poem, *Tristram of Lyonesse,* in which, in splendid and passionate verse, he makes his contribution to the great body of English poetry on Arthurian themes.

Lyrics. Such a gift as Swinburne's is clearly best exhibited in lyric. In this field his chief themes are, in his earlier work, love and political liberty; later, the sea; and finally the charm of babyhood, and the might of the British Empire. No more curious development is to be seen in literary history than that of Swinburne's from red republicanism to imperialism and domestic prettiness. Here is a stanza from *A Child's Laughter.*

> Golden bells of welcome roll'd
> Never forth such notes, nor told
> Hours so blithe in tones so bold,
> As the radiant mouth of gold
> Here that rings forth Heaven.
> If the golden-crested wren
> Were a nightingale — why, then
> Something seen and heard of men
> Might be half as sweet as when
> Laughs a child of seven.

Summary. The half-dozen Victorian poets we have discussed are only the outstanding trees of a great forest. The power of writing accomplished verse has become widely diffused in these last hundred years, and the task of chronicling the work of minor poets has become an almost hopeless one. But those we have mentioned are enough to show the main tendency of English poetry in the nineteenth century. That century's preoccupation with religion, especially with the difficulties presented by the relation of theology to the new scientific doctrines, and with politics and social reform, is abundantly mirrored in their verse. The development of variety in metrical form, the detailed description of nature, the interest in the Middle Ages, and frankness in expressing the problems and moods of the individual soul, traits which were handed down from the romantic period, continue to be much in evidence. It may be that none of its poets will finally be placed by the verdict of posterity in the very first class; but few periods in the literature of any country have produced in verse so much beauty and so much wisdom.

Guides to Study

Reading. Good examples are to be found in the collections. The following are merely suggested.

Tennyson: Ulysses, The Lady of Shalott, The Gardener's Daughter, A Dream of Fair Women, Locksley Hall Sixty Years After, The Day-Dream, Sir Galahad, The Palace of Art, The Lotos-Eaters, The Charge of the Light Brigade, The Princess, The Coming of Arthur, Gareth and Lynette, Lancelot and Elaine, Passing of Arthur, The Northern Farmer. Browning: Cavalier Tunes, The Lost Leader, How They Brought the Good News from Ghent, Home Thoughts from Abroad, Saul, My Star, Incident of the French Camp, The Pied Piper, Fra Lippo Lippi, Andrea del Sarto, My Last Duchess, Rabbi Ben Ezra, Hervé Riel, Evelyn Hope, Karshish, Up at a Villa, Down in the City, Pheidippides, Epilogue to Asolando, Prospice. E. B. Browning: Lady Geraldine's Courtship, The Cry of the Children, A Musical Instrument, Sonnets from the Portuguese, Cowper's Grave, The Sleep. Arnold: Sohrab and Rustum, The Forsaken Merman, Thyrsis, Dover Beach, Rugby Chapel, Obermann, Balder Dead, Tristram and Iseult. D. G. Rossetti: The King's Tragedy, The

White Ship, Sister Helen, Rose Mary, The Blessed Damozel, My Sister's Sleep. William Morris: From The Earthly Paradise read An Apology, Atalanta's Race, The Doom of King Acrisias, The Story of Cupid and Psyche. Swinburne: A Forsaken Garden, The Garden of Proserpine, Chorus from Atalanta in Calydon. For minor writers see such anthologies as the Golden Treasury, part 2, and the Oxford Book of English Verse.

Questions. Compare Tennyson's period of literary activity with Wordsworth's. What are some of the current topics found in Tennyson's poems? Give the main facts of his life. What were his honors? Tell of his devotion to his art. Give reasons for and against such devotion. Describe his personality. Mention several lyrics illustrating his range of interest. Who is the speaker in Maud? Name some other English poets who have dealt with Arthurian subjects. How does Tennyson's treatment differ from that of Malory? Discuss the use of vowels and consonants in the passage cited from The Passing of Arthur. Name several of Tennyson's classical poems. Select from The Princess some passages of descriptive and lyrical beauty. What is the theme of In Memoriam? How did it develop between 1833 and 1850? Contrast Browning and Tennyson with respect to poetic method, life, popularity. Which do you prefer? Who influenced Browning's early work? Why was he not entirely successful with the drama? Whom did he marry? Where did the Brownings live? What indication of his feeling for England is shown in Home Thoughts, from Abroad? Compare his personality with Tennyson's. What differences do you see in their portraits? What arts did Browning study? Name one or two historical portraits from Strafford. What is a "dramatic monologue"? Read two and give the impression left in your mind. What change developed in Browning's later poems? What can you say of his lyrics? Compare Prospice with Crossing the Bar. Tell the plot of The Ring and the Book. What strikes you as the main characteristic of Browning's verse? of his teaching? What are the Sonnets from the Portuguese? What is the meaning underlying A Musical Instrument? What value has Mrs. Browning's poetry?

How did Tennyson and Browning treat the subject of religious doubt? What was Matthew Arnold's attitude? Describe the influence of Oxford at this time. Name some poems showing Arnold's religious doubt. What conclusion does he come to in Dover Beach? What is the theme of Rugby Chapel? What is its most beautiful passage? What purposes had Arnold's poetry? Mention three poems that try to reproduce the classical form and spirit. What lovely bits of description do you find in The Scholar Gypsy or Thyrsis? What produces the quiet tone of these descriptions? How do they compare with Browning's? What effect has Arnold's poetry upon you?

Give the main facts of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. What was their periodical? Name some of the leaders. Who was Dante Gabriel Rossetti? Into what classes do his poems fall? In connection with Rossetti's poetry examine some of his pictures and tell what similarity exists between them. What quality predominates in The Blessed Damozel?

What range of talents had William Morris? What results of his activities are felt to-day? In what did he exceed the other Pre-Raphaelites? What resulted from this absorption? Compare The Defence of Guinevere with other poems on the Round Table theme. (Reread a portion of Malory in this connection.) What characterizes The Earthly Paradise? Read the Apology. What is its tone?

What place has Swinburne in the period? In what does he excel? What is the Garden of Proserpine about? How does it make you feel? Study the effects of consonants and vowels in it. What is the defect of Swinburne's tragedies? What contribution did Swinburne make to the Round Table theme? Where does his greatest gift lie? What curious development is shown in his choice of subjects?

Summarize the tendencies of the century as shown in poetry.

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. The Lyrics I Like Best in Tennyson. The Lyrics I Like Best in Browning. My Favorite Character in The Idylls of the King. The Princess as a Commentary on the Feminist Movement. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The Influence of William Morris. Swinburne's Sea Pictures. Tendencies in Victorian Poetry. A Dramatic Monologue in Browning's Manner on The Kaiser in Exile. The Lyrics in The Princess. Poems about Children.

CHAPTER XVI

MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY FICTION, 1832-1881

INTRODUCTION. Vogue of the Novel. The Novel with a Purpose.

CHARLES DICKENS. Life. Dickens in America. Autobiography in His Novels. Dickens as Reformer. Defects of His Method. Chief Merits. Children in His Novels.

WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. Dickens and Thackeray. Life. Views of Human Nature. *Vanity Fair*, *Pendennis*, *Esmond*. *The Newcomes*. *Barry Lyndon*. Summary.

GEORGE ELIOT. Life. Themes of Her Novels. Chief Interests. Analysis and Teaching. An Illustration from *The Mill on the Floss*.

GEORGE MEREDITH. Late Success. Life. Intellectual Quality. Themes of His Novels. Meredith and Women. Style.

THOMAS HARDY. Wessex. Chief Novels. View of Life.

CONCLUSION. Minor Novelists. Varied Forms of Fiction. Reflection of Modern Life.

Vogue of the Novel. What the metrical romance was to the Middle Ages, what the drama was to the age of Elizabeth, the novel was to the age of Victoria. In that period other forms of literature continued to flourish, and the total number of books published increased rapidly as popular education spread and the reading public was extended; but the rate of growth of the novel far surpassed that of all other kinds. It was not only the chief form of literary entertainment; it became a medium for influencing opinion, so that under the guise of fiction we are now likely to find programs of social reform, treatises on foreign politics, and debates on theology.

The Novel with a Purpose. The "novel with a purpose" was no new thing in the nineteenth century. *Euphues*, we have seen, was intended as much to edify as to amuse; and in the eighteenth century Richardson and Fielding professed a moral

aim. The reason why the phrase "novel with a purpose" is used so often as a reproach is that there is a strong temptation for the novelist who is at the same time a zealous reformer to tamper with the truth of his picture of human life and character in order to make the grievance he is exposing appear more intolerable, or the cure he is recommending more promising. A purpose of some kind, of course, every author has; it becomes a danger only when it gets the better of artistic truth and proportion.

Charles Dickens (1812–1870)

The first novelist of this period with whom we have to deal, Charles Dickens, was powerfully interested in various reforms, so that the principles just stated are useful in estimating the quality of his work. His interest in these causes is largely explained by the circumstances of his early life.

Life. Dickens was born at Landport on the south coast of England in 1812, the son of a minor official in the navy. The elder Dickens, some of whose characteristics appear in Mr. Micawber in *David Copperfield*, was unsuccessful in money matters, and by the time Charles was eleven, his father was confined in a debtor's prison in London. The boy was taken from school and put to work in a blacking factory; and nothing in his novels was more pathetic than the picture of this child, slaving all day for a few pennies, sleeping under the counter at night, and visiting his parents in jail on Sundays.

A return to comparative prosperity made it possible for Charles to resume his schooling, but Wellington House Academy, to which he was sent, had only too many resemblances to Dotheboys Hall as it is pictured in *Nicholas Nickleby*. At fifteen he entered a law office, which he left to take up newspaper reporting. In 1836 he published his first book, *Sketches by Boz*, made up of papers that had been appearing for some time in periodicals. The same year he was engaged to write

DICKENS

the letterpress for a series of pictures by a popular illustrator, and this piece of hack work resulted in the *Pickwick Papers*, which brought him at one stride into the first rank of popular writers. As a novel it is somewhat formless, but its high spirits, the delightful comedy of its situations and characters, and its sense of irrepressible vitality, make it one of the great humorous works in the language.

From this time Dickens was a prosperous man. For thirty years he poured forth a stream of novels, and he varied his writing by giving readings from his works, and by taking a leading part in an amateur dramatic company, which toured the country and made money for charities.

Dickens in America. Twice he visited America, where, especially on his second visit, his readings were extremely popular, and he recorded his impressions in *American Notes* and in certain scenes of *Martin Chuzzlewit*. These were more frank than flattering, and gave much offense, in part justifiable, to his admirers in this country. He died in 1870 and was buried in Westminster Abbey, the most popular author of his generation.

Autobiography in His Novels. Those who have read Dickens's books will see from even this slight outline how largely he drew on his own experience and observation. *David Copperfield*, the most generally admired of his novels, contains a large amount of autobiography. His early knowledge of the low life of London supplied material for *Oliver Twist*, his school-days for *Nicholas Nickleby*, his visits to the Marshalsea, where his father was imprisoned, for *Little Dorrit*, his life in a law office for treatment of legal matters in *Bleak House* and other novels. Many more instances could be given. He constantly walked and rode about London, and nothing escaped his observation. As important as these reproductions of actual scenes from his past is his attitude towards various classes of society, which was determined by what he had felt and seen. He had a profound sympathy with poverty and wretchedness, and his moving por-

trayal of innocent suffering and of the crime which is due more to conditions than to bad character, stirred the heart of England.

Dickens as Reformer. Having gained the attention of the public, he resolved to use the opportunity to try to cure

Illustration by George Cruikshank to "Oliver Twist"

some of the evils which produced the suffering he knew so well, and his efforts had great success. The measures for the treatment of the poor were improved largely through books like

Oliver Twist and *Our Mutual Friend;* the law's delays through his satire on the Court of Chancery in *Bleak House* and on the "Circumlocution Office" in *Little Dorrit;* boys' schools through his exposure of Mr. Squeers; the debtors' laws through *Little Dorrit.* All this was a great service to society, and was well worth doing.

Defects of His Method. On the permanent value of his books as literature, however, the effect was not wholly good. We, to whom the English poorhouses and debtors' prisons of seventy years ago are remote facts of history, are apt to get tired of the insistence of Dickens on their injustice; and their prominence in his view of life produces an effect of unreality. This is emphasized by his tendency to exaggeration in the treatment of character. In his drawing of humorous types, Dickens carried eccentricity to an extreme which sometimes prevents our believing in these people at all; in pathetic characters he works on our emotions so cruelly that we are apt to rebel; in his villains he depicts a blackness that belies human nature. His taste for the theater had its effect not only in the production of effective dramatic situations, but in the employment of melodrama, in which we are given powerful shocks by the sacrifice of probability and truth to human nature. And in his later works there is a tendency to use again and again tricks and devices for comic, pathetic, or dramatic effect which lose their power as the reader begins to recognize the method.

Chief Merits. Yet too much stress should not be laid on these criticisms. The novels contain an amazing number of people vividly pictured and convincing enough to have become a part of our world; and few authors of any time have created such a vast panorama of enthralling incident. The plots of his novels are apt to be exceedingly involved on account of the great number of characters and the intricate nature of their relations, and the plots themselves are often hard to recall; but they never cease to hold our interest while we read. In such a book as *The Tale of Two Cities,* the result of Dickens's

reading of Carlyle's *French Revolution*, he shows that he can construct a well-built plot and avoid obscuring the main current of the action with a confusion of minor episodes.

It is usual to begin reading Dickens with *David Copperfield*, and the plan is a good one, since there is so much of the author himself in the book. With it, as examples of his power of pure story-telling and the creation of great numbers of enter-

CHARLES DICKENS READING "THE CHIMES" TO HIS FRIENDS
(After a drawing by D. Maclise)

taining people, should be placed *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Our Mutual Friend*, and *Martin Chuzzlewit*. *Oliver Twist* is a good example of his treatment of the criminal classes and his deliberate attempt to direct public attention to the redress of social injustice. The *Pickwick Papers* remains his greatest comic work; and his pathetic power is exhibited in *The Old Curiosity Shop* with its perhaps overemphasized but extremely touching figure of Little Nell, in the Christmas stories such as *The Chimes*, *The Christmas Carol*, and *The Cricket on the Hearth*,

and in the earlier chapters of *Dombey and Son*. But so full and rich is the inheritance he has left us that it is difficult to stop in such an enumeration before one has exhausted the whole list of his writings.

Children in His Novels. In the crowd of human beings that throng these books there are many boys and girls. Often, indeed, a novel is the story of a child growing into manhood and womanhood; and no preceding novelist had written so much of the experiences of childhood. We follow the adventures of David Copperfield or of Pip, who meets the escaped convict on the marshes and later forms those "Great Expectations" which give the title to his story, or we wander with Little Nell about the English countryside and meet many odd travelers along the country roads. Oliver Twist and Paul Dombey and Tiny Tim are children whom you will never forget when once you have made their acquaintance. The children reveal the same qualities of genius in their creator as do his adults, wonderful invention, an overflowing humor, and a human sympathy that has quickened the hearts of millions of readers.

William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863)

Dickens and Thackeray. It used to be the fashion to contrast Dickens and Thackeray, to treat them as rivals for the same prize, and to debate their comparative claims. It is better to see them as supplementing each other, drawing from a different set of experiences, describing different classes of society, impressed with different qualities in human nature, but together affording a remarkably complete view of England, and especially London, in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Life. William Makepeace Thackeray was the son of a civilian official of the government of India, and was born in Calcutta. He was brought home to England as a child and entered the great Charterhouse school in London. At eighteen he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge; but finding that he

was wasting his time, he left without a degree and went to the Continent with the intention of studying painting. He inherited a considerable fortune, and was able to indulge in various experiments, such as the study of law, which he found he disliked, and the conducting of a newspaper, in which he lost a large sum of money. The rest of his inheritance was dissipated in unwise investments, and by 1833 he found himself faced with the necessity of earning a living. So far his career had been in strong contrast to Dickens's; but at the age of twenty-two the two men were about equally well off, and Dickens was nearer success than Thackeray, in spite of the handicap with which he had started.

Thackeray tried first to make a career as an artist and illustrator, and there was a picturesque moment when he applied unsuccessfully for permission to continue the illustrations for which Dickens had begun to write the *Pickwick Papers*. Finding it hard work to make a living by his pencil, he turned to his pen, and produced a number of satirical papers, the most important being the series contributed to the newly founded *Punch*, and afterwards published as *The Book of Snobs*. His great success came with the appearance of *Vanity Fair* in 1847–1848, and between that date and his death in 1863 he wrote *Pendennis*, *Henry Esmond*, *The Newcomes*, and *The Virginians*. He had married in 1836, but after a few years his wife lost her mind, and, though she outlived her husband by thirty years, she never recovered. The tragedy cast a shadow over the novelist's whole life, and accounts largely for the undertone of sadness in his work. In preparation for *Henry Esmond*, Thackeray made a thorough study of England in the eighteenth century, and as a kind of by-product wrote his papers on *The English Humorists*. These were delivered with great success as lectures both in England and America, and were followed by a series on *The Four Georges*. But Thackeray hated the platform as much as Dickens loved it, and he did not continue his public appearances.

THACKERAY

In 1860 he undertook the editorship of *The Cornhill Magazine*, and in it he published the charming *Roundabout Papers*, which reflect the more placid and kindly humor of his later years.

Thackeray's Views of Human Nature. Thackeray used to be called a cynic, because he saw through the shams and snobbishness of society, and exposed them mercilessly. He was, indeed, very conscious of the weaknesses of human nature; but he laid them bare not out of malice but from a passionate wish to help men to a higher level. He found in life neither the blackness of Dickens's villains, nor the whiteness of his saints; the best of men to Thackeray were somewhat gray. He was at home amidst the splendor of aristocratic society, and his ideal was the English gentleman; but though he pictured that society with great brilliance, he was never blinded by its glitter, and he saw its members as men and women moved by petty motives but capable of nobility like the men and women of all ranks. The cynic sees no good in anything; Thackeray, in spite of his persistent ridicule of men's weaknesses, saw much good in them and still more possibility of good. These verses from *The End of the Play* are expressive of his spirit.

And in the world, as in the school,
  I'd say, how fate may change and shift;
The prize be sometimes with the fool,
  The race not always to the swift.
The strong may yield, the good may fall,
  The great man be a vulgar clown,
The knave be lifted over all,
  The kind cast pitilessly down.
. . . . . .
Come wealth or want, come good or ill,
  Let young and old accept their part,
And bow before the Awful Will,
  And bear it with an honest heart,
Who misses or who wins the prize.
  Go, lose or conquer as you can;
But if you fall, or if you rise,
  Be each, pray God, a gentleman.

Vanity Fair, Pendennis, and Henry Esmond. *Vanity Fair*, the book which brought him general recognition, deals with London society in the period of the Napoleonic wars. He called it "a novel without a hero," and justly enough, for its central figure is a woman, Becky Sharp; a clever, resourceful, and unscrupulous but plucky adventuress, with whose temporary success in making tools of the rich and aristocratic fools into whose circle she makes her way, we cannot entirely refuse to sympathize. Against a background of the great events that culminated in the battle of Waterloo, the story moves with absorbing interest, and rises from time to time to scenes of the most intense dramatic power. In *Pendennis*, Thackeray drew largely on his own early life, though the hero is not himself, but the typical young man of good family and good intentions, pampered into selfishness by the unwise affection of the women of his family. *Henry Esmond* is perhaps the most successful attempt in English fiction to recreate the atmosphere of a past age. It is laid in the time of Queen Anne, and the story is told by the chief character, an English gentleman, who comes

W. M. THACKERAY
(From a pencil drawing by Richard Doyle)

into contact with all the great events and great personages of his time. Thus, besides the interest of Esmond's story, we have living portraits of generals like Marlborough, of men of letters like Addison, Swift, and Steele, and even that of James Stuart, who almost became King James III of Great Britain. The style is a marvelous imitation of eighteenth century prose, and the details of the picture are handled with such skill that we seem to be living two hundred years ago. It is characteristic of Thackeray's refusal to be carried away by romantic convention, or to minister to his reader's sentimentality, that the hero finally becomes disillusioned as to the dazzling beauty whom he woos for years, and he finally (and satisfactorily) marries her mother. *The Virginians* is a less successful sequel to *Esmond*, carrying on the story of the same family into another generation.

The Newcomes. *The Newcomes*, like *Pendennis*, deals with contemporary life, and is regarded by many as its author's masterpiece. There is perhaps nothing in it so brilliant as the greatest scene in *Vanity Fair*, and no creation so striking as that of Becky Sharp, but in Colonel Newcome and Clive we have two of his most finely drawn characters, and in no book does he more powerfully engage our feelings. Here are the sentences which bring to an end the life of one of the truest gentlemen in fiction.

> At the usual evening hour the chapel bell began to toll, and Thomas Newcome's hands outside the bed feebly beat time. And just as the last bell struck, a peculiar sweet smile shone over his face, and he lifted up his head a little, and quickly said, "Adsum!" and fell back. It was the word we used at school when names were called; and lo, he, whose heart was as that of a little child, had answered to his name, and stood in the presence of The Master.

Barry Lyndon. These are the books on which Thackeray's fame rests. *Barry Lyndon*, worthy to rank with them as a work of art, is less popular, probably because the reader cannot find a place to rest his sympathy in this personal narrative of the adventures of a polished scoundrel living by his impudence

and his wits. It is the greatest example in English of the novel of roguery, a species which had flourished in English literature since the sixteenth century. Here, as in all his works, Thackeray wields a style which he writes as a well-bred man wears his clothes, with distinction and elegance but without self-consciousness.

Summary. Compared with Dickens, Thackeray may seem to lack specific reforming purpose; compared with more recent novelists, philosophic depth. He is reported to have said of himself that he had no head above the eyes. But he has purpose enough — the broad general purpose of improving human nature by telling it the truth about itself; and his philosophy, if never expressed in abstract terms, is nevertheless capable of ennobling life and revealing part of its meaning.

George Eliot (1819–1880)

As Dickens and Thackeray were drawing towards the end of their careers, there appeared on the horizon a new artist in fiction, with a fresh field and an individual manner. *Scenes from Clerical Life*, by "George Eliot," which began to be printed in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1857, roused great curiosity, and were finally announced to be the work of a Miss Evans, known in intellectual circles as Mrs. George Henry Lewes.

Life. Mary Ann (or Marian) Evans was born on a farm in Warwickshire, the daughter of the agent of the great Newdigate Estates. She received the foundation of an excellent education in the schools of the district, and, after sixteen, from private tutors; and she continued her studies until she was one of the most learned women of her time. Many of the details of the early years of Maggie Tulliver in *The Mill on the Floss* are taken with slight alteration from her own experience, so that this book is to George Eliot what *David Copperfield* is to Dickens, and *Pendennis* to Thackeray. Her mother died when she was sixteen, and for the next fourteen

years she kept house for her father. In 1841 they moved to the town of Coventry, where she came in contact with a group of intellectual people who had great influence on her development. In 1851 she went to London as assistant editor of the *Westminster Review*, and her work on this journal, along with her translation of two theological works from the German, brought her into personal relation with leaders of thought, like Carlyle and Herbert Spencer. George Lewes, a brilliant writer and talker, was a member of this circle, and it was at his suggestion that she attempted the writing of fiction. The moderate success of *Scenes from Clerical Life* was followed by much more general recognition when she published *Adam Bede* in 1859, and in the next two years *The Mill on the Floss* and *Silas Marner*.

Themes of Her Novels. All of these books dealt with the English country life in the middle of which she had been brought up, but in the next work, *Romola*, she attempted an elaborate picture of Florence in the period of the Renaissance, gathering her material from a vast amount of historical study and two visits to Italy. In *Felix Holt, the Radical*, she treated the political situation in England, and in *Middlemarch* she produced her most comprehensive view of English provincial life. This story represents her mature method and has had a far-reaching influence on the technic of later novelists. Her last novel, *Daniel Deronda*, though admirable in some respects, has generally been regarded as less successful.

Lewes died in 1878, and the loss of his support and inspiration proved so great a shock that George Eliot wrote no more. In 1880 she married J. W. Cross, an old friend, and died in December of the same year.

Chief Interests. The ruling passion in George Eliot's life was the sense of duty, and as a consequence her books are much occupied by problems of conduct, and she had strong sympathy with the scientific thought of her time. These things are reflected in her novels, and her treatment of character is especially influenced by the new psychology, in which Lewes was

a leader, and by the emphasis on environment in Darwin and other writers on evolution. But her books are by no means ethical and scientific treatises. She had rich humor and keen observation, and she created real human beings, and gave them a setting described with great vividness and animation. Her moral earnestness and her great learning are constantly apparent, but they are lightened by warm sympathy and appreciation of the entertaining variety of human nature. In the elements which win popularity she was inferior to Dickens and Thackeray, but she far surpassed them in depth of thought and in penetrating and analyzing the forces that account for the actions of men.

Analysis and Teaching. A passage in which George Eliot criticizes the novels of Dickens is interesting as an indication of her own purpose. She praises the vividness and reality of his pictures of London life, and adds:

> If Dickens had been able to give us their psychological character and conception of life, and their emotions with the same truth as their idiom and manner, his books would be the greatest contribution to art ever made by the awakening of social sympathies.

It is the psychological character and the conception of life that George Eliot is interested in rather than mere speech and manners and actions. She is ever trying to analyze and explain for us the meaning of each speech, or gesture, or feature. She is the forerunner in what may be called the analytical method in fiction, which has had many exponents since her day. And all her analysis is directed to forming generalizations about conduct and life which may be driven home to the reader. She analyzes and explains in order to teach.

An Illustration from The Mill on the Floss. An illustration of her method may be found in a well-known passage in *The Mill on the Floss*. Tom and Maggie are brother and sister. He has been away to school and has returned home, to the great delight of his admiring sister. The two quarrel and

Maggie is in misery until they make up, and they spend the happiest of days fishing together. Such are the simple incidents which occupy an entire chapter of the novel, but George Eliot not only tells us what happened but she makes us understand just how the children felt and teaches us that this child psychology is an important matter for us all. The chapter closes with a beautiful passage on the significance of such childish experiences.

Life did change for Tom and Maggie; and yet they were not wrong in believing that the thoughts and loves of these first years would always make part of their lives. We could never have loved the earth so well if we had no childhood in it, — if it were not the earth where the same flowers come up again every spring that we used to gather with our tiny fingers as we sat lisping to ourselves on the grass, — the same hips and haws on the autumn hedgerows, — the same redbreasts that we used to call "God's birds," because they did no harm to the precious crops. What novelty is worth that sweet monotony where everything is known, and *loved* because it is known?

The wood I walk in on this mild May day, with the young yellow-brown foliage of the oaks between me and the blue sky, the white star-flowers and the blue-eyed speedwell and the ground ivy at my feet, — what grove of tropic palms, what strange ferns or splendid broad-petaled blossoms, could ever thrill such deep and delicate fibers within me as this home scene? These familiar flowers, these well-remembered bird-notes, this sky, with its fitful brightness, these furrowed and grassy fields, each with a sort of personality given to it by the capricious hedgerows, — such things as these are the mother tongue of our imagination, the language that is laden with all the subtle, inextricable associations the fleeting hours of our childhood left behind them. Our delight in the sunshine on the deep-bladed grass to-day might be no more than the faint perception of wearied souls, if it were not for the sunshine and the grass in the far-off years which still live in us, and transform our perception into love.

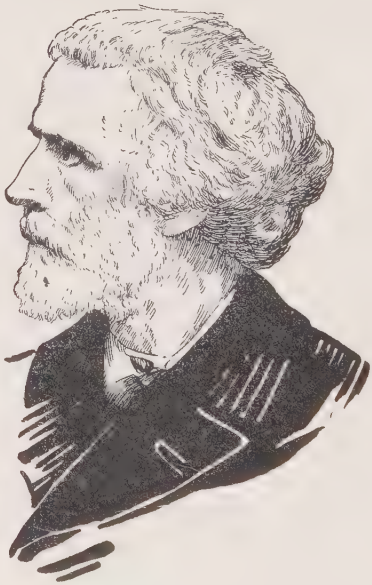
George Meredith (1828–1909)

Late Success. The rapid recognition won by the three novelists just discussed is in strong contrast to the reception given to George Meredith by the English reading public. Issuing his first volume of poems in 1851, the year after Tenny-

son published *In Memoriam*, and his first novel, *The Shaving of Shagpat* in 1856, the year before George Eliot made her first success with *Scenes from Clerical Life*, Meredith had to wait for nearly thirty years before arousing a like general interest. It was, however, characteristic of his independent spirit that during this long period he continued writing without making any attempt to catch popular favor by lowering his standards, and that when he finally became famous he accepted his honors without losing his head.

Life. Meredith was born at Portsmouth and received part of his education in Germany. He made a beginning in the study of law, and served as a newspaper correspondent during the war of Italian independence in 1866. Receiving little income from his books, he made a living by giving advice on manuscripts for the publishing house of Chapman and Hall, and he was for a time editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. His first marriage, to a daughter of the novelist, Thomas Love Peacock, was unfortunate; with his second wife, Marie Vulliamy, he lived happily and quietly at Boxhill in Surrey, on terms of intimacy with many of the intellectual leaders of the time, but living the life of a retired man of letters.

Intellectual Quality. George Meredith and George Eliot are sometimes said to have "intellectualized" the modern novel. We can see what is meant by this phrase when we consider how Dickens and Thackeray concern themselves chiefly with the external spectacle of society and deal only with those thoughts of their characters which concern their individual behavior in particular crises. The two later writers, on the other hand, describe men and women as occupied with problems as much as with actions, see them more as affected by laws which control men in general, and often represent them as finding their greatest difficulties in their inner lives. Like the chief poets of the time, they reflect far more than their popular predecessors the intellectual interests of the England of their time.



MEREDITH

Themes of His Novels. Meredith's first novel, it is true, *The Shaving of Shagpat,* has little of this character, being an extravagant fantasy inspired by the *Arabian Nights.* But *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* is a profound study of the effect on a boy's character of his father's ideas on education, though this interest does not prevent it from presenting a group of clearly drawn characters and telling a story of great tragic intensity. *Sandra Belloni* and its sequel *Vittoria* follow the fortunes of a beautiful singer who is involved in conspiracies for the freeing of Italy from the Austrians, and the *Adventures of Harry Richmond* bears evidence of the influence of Dickens. In *Beauchamp's Career* we are given a picture of English political life, and *The Egoist* is a masterful presentation of the self-centered attitude of a young English aristocrat whose whole surroundings combine to let him grow up with the assumption that he is a lord of creation. The story is told of a young friend of Meredith's coming to him and reproaching him bitterly for having exposed his character to the whole world, "for," said he, "any one can see that Sir Willoughby Patterne is myself." "My dear fellow," answered the novelist, "Sir Willoughby is all of us."

Meredith and Women. Meredith was much interested in the problem of the position of women in society, and the novel which first attracted wide attention to him, *Diana of the Crossways,* deals specifically with this. The heroine is a young Irish beauty of great wit and charm, whose impulsiveness leads her into violent conflict with convention. She is perhaps the most elaborately drawn of his long series of heroines with brains, on the whole the most brilliant pictures of women in English fiction. The question of the rights of women to control their own destinies and do their own thinking continued to be a chief theme in his later books, *One of Our Conquerors, Lord Ormont and his Aminta,* and *The Amazing Marriage.*

Style. Like Thackeray, Meredith was more at home among the upper classes, "the world which has time to think and dis-

cuss, and which has enough cultivation to be interested in self-analysis and the art of conversation." No novelist has written dialogue more sparkling with epigram, or put into the mouths of his characters more concentrated wisdom. We do not need to take his word for the intellectual powers of his people; they prove it in their conversation. At times this conversation becomes almost too brilliant and condensed, and the average reader follows gaspingly, not quite sure of holding the thread. The writer's own style, too, is apt to become whimsical and difficult, figures of speech are worked too hard, and his thought at times leaps from point to point in a way that makes reading hard. But it is a fault arising from the uncommon virtue of having abundance of ideas and a fertile imagination. The pervading tone of his work comes from a kind of ironical detachment, which yet does not prevent enthusiastic sympathy for his favorite characters. He wrote a famous *Essay on Comedy* which presents with great subtlety and acuteness his view of the wholesome effect of the comic spirit as a corrective of sentimentality and self-importance, and this spirit informs all his prose writing. Difficult and tantalizing though he sometimes is, Meredith is surpassed by none as a bracing influence both on the mind and on the emotions.

Thomas Hardy (1840–)

Wessex. In the first chapter of this book there occurs the name of Wessex, the kingdom ruled over by King Alfred and the scene of his attempt to plant the seeds of English literature. The name has disappeared from the modern map, but it has reappeared in literary geography through the influence of Thomas Hardy. Born himself in the district in the south of England which has as its center the cathedral town of Winchester, where Alfred is buried, Hardy has described its scenery and its people so effectively that Wessex to-day has a character and an atmosphere as well recognized as those of any English county.

Chief Novels. *Under the Greenwood Tree* and *Far from the Madding Crowd* were the first successes which drew public attention to a new treatment of rural England, unspoiled by railways and factories, and a fresh view of the humor and pathos of rustic life. The note struck by Hardy in these earlier works deepened into tragedy in *The Return of the Native;* and *The Mayor of Casterbridge,* and *Tess of the D' Urbervilles* continued the presentation of the futility of human nature struggling against cruel and unintelligible Fate. Hardy has written many more novels and latterly a considerable amount of verse, but the books mentioned are his greatest and are sufficient to show his attitude towards life.

View of Life. This attitude is almost one of despair. He does indeed see and present the humorous and attractive sides of his country people, but his prevailing mood is one of melancholy, inspired by the uselessness of their efforts to steer their lives against currents of circumstances which they do not understand and which are far stronger than they. Nature, which he describes sometimes with charm and sometimes with a terrifying impressiveness, is the spectator of human tragedy, or not infrequently conspires with the unseen forces that guide the universe to lead poor, passionate, but not very intelligent men and women to suffering and disaster. The movement of Hardy's plots is often compared with that of the Greek tragedies, and some of these plots do move with something of the same impressive inevitability; but not even in Æschylus and Sophocles are the gods so cruel.

Conclusion

Minor Novelists. Such are the greater masters of the Victorian novel. There were many lesser novelists of power and interest: Bulwer-Lytton with his vivid if melodramatic scenes from past times in *The Last Days of Pompeii* and *Rienzi;* Disraeli, who varied his exciting political life with novels equally exciting but somewhat flashy; the Brontë sisters with

their fervid romantic imaginations; Mrs. Gaskell with her masterly achievement in the picturing of village life in *Cranford*, and her appealing story of factory life in *Mary Barton;* Charles Kingsley with his brilliant revival of the spirit of the age of Elizabeth in *Westward Ho!* and his stories dealing with the social and religious problems of the middle of the century; Charles Reade with one great historical novel of the Renaissance, *The Cloister and the Hearth;* Wilkie Collins with his mysteries and intrigue; Anthony Trollope with his vivacious and exact pictures of political and ecclesiastical life; Samuel Butler with his satirical attack on many Victorian idols in *Erewhon;* and many others.

Varied Forms of Fiction. As has been said, the development and expansion of the novel can be compared only with the flourishing of the drama in the age of Elizabeth. Indeed, the number of novels has been legion, and they have varied most widely in subject and form. The long three-volume form in which most of the novels of the mid-century appeared soon found a rival in briefer tales, and the magazines gave place for short stories as well as serials.

Reflection of Modern Life. In the range and variety of life presented the novel in the nineteenth century may be said to have surpassed even the Elizabethan drama. It will be noted that although there are many romances of past times or foreign lands, yet after the death of Scott, the main energies of the English novel have been occupied in presenting English life of the present. Further, though there have been many novels that are read simply for the sake of the story, yet since George Eliot there has been a marked tendency to make the novel analytic of men's emotions and motives, and thereby critical of our ideas and conduct. The novel has profited from the vast increase of knowledge and science and has tried to search more systematically into the explanation and significance of the stories it tells. It has played a part in social reform and in intellectual discussion, and it has gone on creating a vast

number of interesting and moving records of human life and character. It has no author to show of the magnitude of Shakespeare, but in the range of life which it covers, the variety of its method and spirit, and in the depth of its penetration into human nature it has now achieved a first place among the forms of literature. No other form has so comprehensively reflected the manifold interests of the nineteenth century.

Guides to Study

Reading. Among the many novels of this period, the following may be specially recommended: David Copperfield, Pickwick Papers, A Tale of Two Cities, Henry Esmond, Silas Marner, Tom Brown's School Days, and Cranford. Further reading may include, from Dickens, Our Mutual Friend, Nicholas Nickleby, Bleak House, The Christmas Carol; from Thackeray, Vanity Fair, Pendennis; from George Eliot, Mill on the Floss, Romola; from Bulwer-Lytton, Last Days of Pompeii; from Blackmore, Lorna Doone; from Reade, The Cloister and the Hearth; from Kingsley, Westward Ho! and from Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre; from Meredith, The Egoist; and from Hardy, Far from the Madding Crowd. In later life, reading in this rich field may be extended indefinitely.

Questions. What was the chief form of literary expression of the age of Victoria? What is meant by "the novel with a purpose"? Give examples. Discuss their purposes. What circumstances led to Dickens's writing novels with a purpose? Tell the story of Dickens's boyhood. Compare it with Samuel Johnson's. What novels are partly autobiographical? What brought Dickens fame? Give other instances of sudden fame. Name the characters you remember in Pickwick. What books resulted from Dickens's visit to America? How were they received by the American people? What were some abuses he attacked? What is the effect of these special protests on the value of his books? What are some of the drawbacks of Dickens's characterizations? Do you agree with what is said about them in the text? Defend your position. What were his chief merits? What is his best constructed story? What do you think of Dickens's children? Name the most appealing one. Which novel do you prefer?

Give the main facts in Thackeray's life. Contrast it with that of Dickens. Compare their early careers. What class of people does Thackeray portray most successfully? How does his method of writing the novel with a purpose differ from Dickens's? Contrast their views of human

nature. Quote some lines that express the spirit of Thackeray's writings. Give the themes of three of his novels. Which one have you read? Name a famous characterization from Thackeray.

Tell of George Eliot's early life. Which of her books is autobiographical? What other novelists have written of themselves? What were the themes of her novels? What were her chief interests? What influences show in her books? Are these a drawback or an advantage in a work of fiction? Find passages of moral earnestness; of humor. Give an illustration of her analytical method.

Contrast Meredith's slow recognition with the success of the three preceding novelists. What was his preparation for life? Can you explain why Meredith's novels were not as popular as Dickens's? Give the themes of some of Meredith's novels. In what subject was he much interested? What did J. S. Mill write on the same subject? With what classes did Meredith deal chiefly? Compare him with two of his contemporaries in this respect. Discuss Meredith's style. What does he think of sentimentality? Read aloud a passage from Meredith that bears out something said of him in the preceding chapter.

Find Wessex on the map, and review Alfred's accomplishments there. Who has revived the fame of Wessex? What other writers have dealt successfully with rural England? What are Hardy's greatest books? What is his attitude toward life? Contrast and compare it with that of other writers you have studied. What is meant by the "inevitability" of his plots? Name some minor novelists of the period. What books of theirs have you read? What change has the novel undergone since the mid-nineteenth century? Account for this change. What have been the main purposes of the English novel since Scott? What important influence has it had? What has it done for the nineteenth century? What are five of the best novels you have already read? Assign each to its period in English literature.

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. The Child Who Must Always "Move On." (Jo in Bleak House.) The Novel with a Purpose. The Greatest English Novel. A Comparison of Dickens and Thackeray. George Eliot's Habit of Moralizing. George Eliot's Child Characters. Wilkie Collins's Mystery Stories. English Provincial Life in Trollope and Hardy. Dickens Gives a Reading at Our School. The Village Types of Some Victorian Novelists.

CHAPTER XVII

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, 1881–1914

INTRODUCTION. Indications of a New Period. The British Empire. Progress of Invention. Social Reform. The Great War. Increase in Reading. Specialization. Character of Literature.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. Boyhood. Romance. Life and Works. In Samoa. Personality. A Creator of Romance.

RUDYARD KIPLING. Youth. In the Twenties. Later Work. The Short Story. Kipling as a Story-teller. Some of His Stories. Poetry. His Moral Teaching.

FICTION. Three Masters. Twentieth Century Novelists. H. G. Wells. Wells as a Teacher. Four Traits of Recent Fiction.

DRAMA. Ibsen's Influence. Changes in the Theater. The Irish Drama. English Dramatists. George Bernard Shaw. Sir James Barrie. Barrie's Plays.

POETRY. Its Variety. Innovations. Followers of Tradition. W. W. Gibson. John Masefield. Poetry of the War.

CONCLUSION. The Search for Beauty. The Many Services of Literature. Writers in Various Fields. The Future of Literature.

INTRODUCTION

We ended the last period with the death of Carlyle in 1881, but there is no sharply marked break in either literary or political history. George Eliot, Darwin, Rossetti, Trollope, and J. R. Green in England, Longfellow and Emerson in the United States, and Victor Hugo in France died within a few years of Carlyle; though Browning lived until 1889, Cardinal Newman until 1890, Tennyson until 1892, and Ruskin until the closing year of the century. Although the reign of Queen Victoria did not end until 1901, there were, however, about 1880, many changes both in England and other nations which became starting points for new developments.

Indications of a New Period. In 1878 came the Berlin Congress, usually taken as the starting point of the international complications which led finally to the Great War. In 1881 the assassination of the Czar Alexander II called attention to the perilous state of unrest in Russia. In 1888 William II became German emperor. Disraeli died in the same year as Carlyle; the following year English troops occupied Egypt, and henceforth that country has continued under English control. In 1885 Gladstone became a convert to Home Rule, and the relations of Ireland to England entered upon a new phase of debate and agitation. New writers were also coming to the fore in these years: Tolstoi in Russia, Ibsen in Norway, Stevenson in England, and Kipling in India. Of English writers who were already well known, Swinburne, Thomas Hardy, George Meredith, John Morley, and Leslie Stephen were still at the height of their powers.

The British Empire. In this period the British Empire continued to grow in power. Egypt, under the wise administration of Lord Cromer, prospered and became more firmly attached to the empire. In southern Africa the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley had attracted all Europe to the great domains unoccupied by white men; and in the course of the eighties the continent was largely parceled out among France, Germany, Portugal, Belgium, and England. Two Dutch republics remained in southern Africa, and their jealousy of British encroachments led to the Boer War of 1899–1900. The republics became colonies in the empire, but in 1907 they were granted full rights of responsible self-government. This settlement may be regarded as crucial in determining the future character of the British Empire. It has been becoming more and more a confederation of great self-governing states. That independence has not destroyed loyalty has been shown by the eagerness of all the self-governing colonies to fight by England's side in the Great War.

Progress of Invention. Unity in an empire on which the sun never sets was greatly aided by modern inventions, by

railways, steamships, telegraph, cable, and wireless. There has, indeed, been no stop in the progress of invention. The age of steam was followed by the age of electricity. Each year, man found new means by which these enormous forces were made to serve at his bidding. One result was the binding of the whole world closer together, for railroad and telegraph had annihilated distance. What happened in China might immediately affect the United States; and an improved process of manufacture might change the conditions of labor from Ohio to India. The transformation that might come to an old civilization by the rapid adoption of western inventions was shown by Japan, which grew rapidly in industry and wealth, and established its importance in world affairs by the defeat of Russia in the war of 1904-5. Invention had made every one neighbors, closely dependent one on the other, as foe or as friend, and had brought the world a step nearer to universal peace or universal war. The more immediate effect of invention upon the great industrial nations was the rapid increase in wealth. Men were enabled to produce more and to distribute it more rapidly. They were thus enabled to have far more comforts than before, a greater quantity and variety of food, clothing, reading matter, more light, heat, amusement, education, and travel, and at the same time to put aside a larger amount of wealth as permanent capital. With this rapid growth in wealth arose the dispute as to its proper division. Undoubtedly, modern progress has a tendency to follow the Biblical text, " For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly."

Social Reform. Modern thought has been proposing various ways by which this tendency may be corrected, and by which there may be a progress toward equality of economic opportunity. This has led to various measures by which the nation assumes control of individuals — such as laws for universal and compulsory education, sanitation, and pure food, limitation on hours and conditions of labor, insurance for disability,

bad health, old age. Germany and Bismarck were able to adopt many of these measures rapidly, while in England there has been a steady but slow progress. It must be admitted, however, that with all its wealth and progress, England fell somewhat behind in the care and proper development of its working classes. This neglect, which had aroused the indignation of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Morris, was being tardily removed by social reforms in the twentieth century, when the Great War interrupted all reform.

The Great War. How immense has been the progress of human affairs in a century was at once revealed by the very conditions of this war which threatened to destroy all progress. Fought on three continents, it engaged the nations of the whole world, and arrayed as combatants not armies but organized peoples. It was a war of machines, and employed all the marvelous products of invention. Into the chaos of destruction it drew the accumulated wealth of nations and jeopardized the comforts and benefits that civilization had amassed in a century of progress. But the causes for which England staked its life and wealth were those which during an epoch of industry and commerce had become clearer and more dominant in the thought and imagination of its statesmen and writers — it dedicated itself anew to the battle for democracy and humanity.

Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do:

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder-storm.

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

Increase in Reading. When we turn to the literature of this period we find that it too has been affected by the increased uses of machinery. The manufacture and distribution of printed matter has gone on multiplying, and there seems to be no limit to the increase. Books, periodicals, and newspapers supply the public with an amount of reading in a single year greater than would once have occupied the world for centuries. It cannot be said that any large part of this is literature in the sense that it is likely to survive and form a part of the nation's reading for many years; but there is a large amount of matter even in the daily newspapers which is literature in the sense that it appeals to our sympathies and imagination. Some of the most valued poems and stories of this period have, indeed, made their first appearance in the newspapers, and many of the authors whom we most esteem have won literary fame as journalists.

Specialization. Not only has the amount of reading matter become enormous, it is also astonishingly diversified. A single department of literature, such as fiction, shows the greatest variety in form and in content. There are short stories of a few pages and long novels of several hundred thousand words. There are numerous stories written for a special class of readers — for business men, for circulating libraries, for boys and girls. Indeed juvenile literature includes some of the best stories by Stevenson and Kipling and Barrie. Almost every business, every charity, every department of human activity, has a large amount of printed matter devoted to it, and this engages the talents of writing men and women and in some cases produces books of lasting value. Biology, sport, travel, discovery, biography, history, geography, are a few of the countless subjects which have special periodicals and special literatures that include some notable books.

Character of Literature. With all this multiplication of books and also this specialization of material, some have thought that the day of great writers and great books has passed. Un-

doubtedly it is true that we are now more likely to have one hundred interesting and clever novels than one of such lasting interest as *Don Quixote* or *The Heart of Midlothian*. And we are more likely to have one hundred skillful poets than another Shakespeare. But the peculiar thing about this age is not its lack of one or two great geniuses. Many ages have felt that lack. The peculiar thing about our age is its possession of such a host of good writers and such a host of intelligent readers. Education has spread and is still spreading; and in spite of the manifold immediate interests of newspapers and periodicals, there is an ever present demand for those kinds of literature which have long appealed most deeply to the imagination, for poetry and drama and fiction. Our age has read and reread the masterpieces of the past, and it has also been enthusiastic to welcome any new poet or novelist or dramatist who expressed its feelings and ideas. A trivial writer may gain fame and fortune through immediate popularity, but it is safe to say that works of literary originality and merit are reasonably sure not to go unappreciated.

It will not be possible in this chapter to consider many from the long list of writers who represent the diverse interests of the period. In the eighties of the last century two new writers won great popularity, and we may view English literature from 1880 to the end of the century as represented in the work of Stevenson and Kipling. For the twentieth century, we shall look at certain new developments in fiction, drama, and poetry, represented by a few of the most popular writers, such as Barrie, Wells, Shaw, and Masefield. Finally we may ask what were the most evident tendencies of literature up to the time of the Great War and what sort of outlook they offer for the future.

Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894)

Boyhood. Stevenson came of a Scotch family of lighthouse builders, who desired him to be a civil engineer, and when

health did not permit of that vocation, set him to studying law. But from childhood he had been possessed by the ambition to become a writer and constantly practiced his art. "All through my boyhood and youth," he has told us, "I was known and pointed out for the pattern of an idler; and yet I was always busy in my own private end, which was to learn to write. I always kept two books in my pocket, one to read and one to write in. As I walked my mind was busy fitting what I saw with appropriate words. . . . It was not so much that I wished to be an author (though I wished that too), as that I had vowed that I would learn to write." To the day of his death he never gave up this constant practice of the art of style.

Romance. One other boyish passion remained with Stevenson through life, the love of make-believe. He has told us how the cardboard scenery and actors with which he played as a boy gave him "the very spirit of life's enjoyment." As a man he delighted at playing at mimic war with toy soldiers. In his beautiful essay, *The Lantern Bearers*, he has taken this boyish spirit of make-believe as a symbol of the romance that makes the joy of living. Joy is not to be made of "mud and old-iron, cheap desires and cheap fears" but from a spirit that welcomes adventure and striving, and fronts the world with a "glorious morning face." Even make-believe that sets the fancy free may bring this joy, and illusion may cheer the spirit on its valiant fight.

Life and Works. Stevenson himself was a living embodiment of the brave spirit of youth. For twenty years an invalid, he had to fight for very life itself, but he found in travel something of that stir of adventure which he craved; and whatever life gave him, his fancy and his faith gilded with the hues of romance. The danger of tuberculosis was apparent in his early twenties, and he went to France, where his experience furnished material for two books, *An Inland Voyage* and *Travels with a Donkey*. In France, he met Mrs. Osbourne, the lady

who afterwards became his wife. She returned to her home in California in 1878, and Stevenson followed her in the next year, and they were married in 1880. Stevenson's American experiences were later set forth in several books, *The Amateur Emigrant*, *Across the Plains*, and *The Silverado Squatters*. He

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON
(*From the medallion by Saint-Gaudens*)

returned to England, but his health was precarious, and the winters were spent in health resorts on the Continent. *Virginibus Puerisque* was his first collection of essays; and in 1882 *Treasure Island* was the first of his books to win popularity. A still greater success was gained by *The Strange Case of Dr.*

Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1886); and *Kidnapped*, published in the same year showed Stevenson a master of the novel of adventure. The power to charm was disclosed by two volumes of poems, *A Child's Garden of Verses* and *Underwoods*. These four books were written in years of serious illness which kept Stevenson constantly under the shadow of death.

In Samoa. In 1887 he left England for good, and after a winter in the Adirondacks, he set sail on a long cruise in the Pacific. The last four years of his life were spent at Vailima, Samoa, where he built a house five hundred feet above the sea. There he lived in better health and vigor than he had known for years, hailed by the natives as their chief Tusitala, and taking an active interest in the practical and political affairs of the islands, as well as writing stories and poems of the South Seas. His Vailima letters to his friends in England give a fascinating picture of the Samoan life. On December 3, 1894, the day that he died, he was working on what promised to be the greatest of his romances, *Weir of Hermiston*. His body was borne by sixty men of his tribe to the lofty peak where he had wished to be buried.

Under the wide and starry sky
Dig the grave and let me lie;
Glad did I live and gladly die,
And I laid me down with a will.

This be the verse you grave for me:
Here he lies where he longed to be;
Home is the sailor, home from sea,
And the hunter home from the hill.

Personality. It is impossible to separate the interest in Stevenson's writings from the interest in his personality. His writings included many kinds of literature, and he won fame as writer of short stories, novelist, poet, essayist, and letter writer. His short stories are varied in theme and reveal his mastery of style whether in serious or extravagant narrative. His

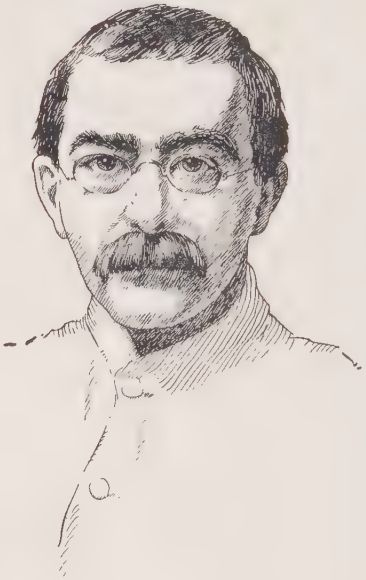
novels are romances of adventure, usually dealing with what he called "the grim and terrible" rather than with sentiment, and he shows character through incident and action rather than by analysis and comment. His poems reveal the more reflective and gentler side of his personality, and interpret the fancies of childhood with an unequaled grace and delicacy. His essays reveal the adventures of his personality as it moved among men and through the incidents of his picturesque and valiant life. They are familiar, personal, expressive, not only of the joy which despite ill health he found everywhere but also of the faith in ultimate good which rings clear in all his personal writing. His letters give an even more intimate and delightful revelation of the "glorious morning face" with which he fronted both life and death.

A Creator of Romance. Stevenson was a romantic, and in many respects his books follow the great romantic traditions that had prevailed in literature since the days of Coleridge and Byron. His stories follow the methods of Scott and Dumas; his essays are not unlike those of Lamb and Hazlitt. His graceful and flexible style was perfected by conscious imitation of past masters of many periods. He does not depart greatly from the established models of romantic art. Yet, a century after Coleridge and Hazlitt and Scott, Stevenson was able to create a fresh "renaissance of wonder" and to find new thrills and a new charm for a multitude of readers. It is that spirit of youth so manifest in his own life that gives a new quality to the land of romance of his books. His masterpieces of invention are, indeed, stories for boys and poems for children. His greatness as a writer rests on the revelation of his own personality in letters and essays, and on the expression of the romance of childhood and youth in *A Child's Garden of Verses*, *Treasure Island*, and *Kidnapped*.

Rudyard Kipling (1865–)

Youth. If Stevenson brought a new spirit to old themes and old methods of expression, Kipling has been preëminently an innovator. He is at his best with new subjects and new modes, and writes of the present with his eye to the future rather than to the past. He was born in Bombay, India, of British parents, his father an artist and art teacher, whose illustrations have added a charm of their own to his son's books. The boy Kipling was sent to England for his schooling, of which he later gave a rather startling account in *Stalky and Co.* At seventeen he was back in India busy in newspaper work, at which he continued for several years. At twenty-one he published a volume of verse, *Departmental Ditties,* and at twenty-two *Plain Tales from the Hills,* a collection of short stories, most of which he had written for his newspaper. Within two years this was followed by six other volumes of stories. These took the world by storm, conquering the reading public of India, England, and America as no fiction had done since the days of Dickens. When, after traveling through China and the United States, Kipling visited England, he found that at twenty-four his fame was world-wide. New glory had come to English literature from a colonial newspaper.

In the Twenties. In 1892 Kipling married Miss Caroline Balestier, an American and sister of his friend Wolcott Balestier, with whom he collaborated on a novel, *The Naulahka.* While continuing to write fiction, he gained new popularity by his *Barrack Room Ballads,* stirring poems written in soldier's slang. Just when everybody knew by heart the ballads of *Fuzzy-Wuzzy, Gunga Din,* and *Mandalay,* their author gave fresh evidence of his genius by two volumes of animal stories, *The Jungle Book* and *The Second Jungle Book.* After a few years' residence in Brattleboro, Vermont, the Kiplings returned to England and have made their home in Sussex. The British Empire had before this become a prevailing theme in his writings; and



KIPLING

after his return to England and after long trips to Canada, Egypt, and South Africa, he became more and more the recorder of British achievements and the spokesman for imperial sentiments.

Later Work. Kipling's writing, however, continued to show great variety and an eagerness to try new fields. Among his later books are *Seven Seas; Captains Courageous*, a story of the Gloucester fishermen; *Kim*, a long novel giving a brilliant panorama of life in India; *Just So Stories* for children; *The Five Nations*, including his best-known poem, *Recessional; Puck of Pook's Hill*, stories from English history for children; and *Actions and Reactions*. After the outbreak of the war he wrote many vivid narratives of the exploits of the British navy. Before he was twenty-four, Kipling had shown himself a great writer of fiction; at thirty he was the chief creative force in English letters; at forty-two he received the Nobel prize for idealism in literature.

The Short Story. Kipling's earliest claim to fame was as a master of the short story, and he has sustained this fame by adding tale after tale to his amazing collection. It may be well for us to glance for a moment at the history of the short story and at the requirements of this type of fiction. There have been short stories from time immemorial, two of the best in the world being the Bible narratives of Joseph and his Brethren and of the Prodigal Son. The present interest in the short story, however, appears to be an outcome of the great popularity of the novel in the nineteenth century. The increasing number of journals and magazines gave opportunity for the publication of briefer stories, and the busy public welcomed tales that could be read at one sitting. For some reason the short story thrived earlier in the United States than in England. Poe and Hawthorne were masters at securing vivid impressions in a short space, and they may be said to have established the methods that distinguish the short story from the novel. It must have a more decided unity of effect, must employ fewer

characters and a less complicated plot than the long novel, and must bring its few persons and incidents rapidly to the reader's interest and maintain them there by a firmness of plot and a vividness of style that permit no break in the tension. In 1868 Bret Harte published in a Californian journal *The Luck of Roaring Camp*. This and his subsequent tales set a new fashion for short stories dealing with particular localities or phases of life. In the United States there followed many notable writers who succeeded in giving vivid and convincing glimpses of the persons and manners of various sections of the country. Other writers found the short story well suited to setting forth the emotions of a moment and for attaining the maximum of suggestiveness in the fewest words. Perhaps the greatest master of these condensed emotional narratives was the Frenchman Guy de Maupassant, whose stories gained an international fame in the same years as did Kipling's. Until Stevenson and Kipling, the great writers of short stories had been American, French, or Russian, rather than British.

Kipling as a Story-teller. Kipling learned much of his method from Bret Harte. Like Harte, he chose striking types of character and dramatic emotions; and like Harte, he had a new world to describe. His stories are capital as stories and they gain an additional interest because they depict a strange and picturesque land heretofore unknown in fiction. They are full of brilliant contrasts in character and in emotion such as the short story is well fitted to emphasize. Though there is no development of character, for which the short story has scarcely room, some of the persons reappear in many of the tales and thus become our familiar acquaintances. The three British Tommies, Mulvaney, Ortheris, and Learoyd, have taken a place in the liking of readers along with the three musketeers of Dumas. The stories are of all sorts and kinds. There is the pathetic love story of *Without Benefit of Clergy*, the beautiful dream story of *The Brushwood Boy*, the extravaganza of *My Lord the Elephant*, and the masterpiece of grotesque tragedy,

The Man Who Would Be King. To the setting forth of tales garnered from the untold romance of British India Kipling brought amazing powers of observation, invention, and style. He saw every detail of a scene and could reproduce the most significant in a few vivid touches. He remade the stories that he heard in mess room or newspaper office, and gave them his own imaginative coloring of tragedy, pathos, or humor. His unfailing gift of words supplied terse epigram, racy dialogue, suggestive figure, and made each story stir with exuberant energy.

Some of His Stories. Of all his stories perhaps the very finest are the *Jungle Books.* The world of animals described in Æsop and in the medieval *Reynard the Fox* had found a new interpreter. The readers enter with the brown baby Mowgli into Mother Wolf's cave, whence he has crawled to escape from the tiger. Henceforth along with the wolf-boy we live with the beasts of the jungle. Mr. Kipling seems to have observed them just as accurately as he has the British soldiers and the Indian fakirs. We meet some most amusing and striking individualities, and before we have graduated with Mowgli from the jungle school we have learned some very sound moral lessons. Mr. Kipling's great powers as a story-teller have not been confined to the camps and marts and jungles of wonderful India. In *With the Night Mail* he has given a prophetic account of an airship express, and in *They* he has summoned to our vision ghosts of little children. In long narratives he has proved less successful. He can secure and hold our attention from first word to last word of a short story; but his genius seems to lack the patience and deliberation needful to construct a long novel that shall interpret life more comprehensively.

Poetry. In addition to being a master of the short story, Kipling has made poetry triumphant in new fields. His themes are not those of Wordsworth, Keats, or Swinburne. His verse, like his prose, tells of the British army in strange lands, of the glories and duties of the British Empire, and of the wonders

of modern invention. He sings of battles in the desert, of life in barracks, of the white man's burden, of torpedoes, battleships, and whirring engines. It is the cosmopolitan empire with its mingling races, or the ocean furrowed with many steamships, or the romance of machinery, that inspires his verse. In *The Ballad of East and West*, which Tennyson said was the finest thing of its kind in English verse, he tells of a border thief and a colonel's son who rival each other in daring and generosity until they finally become sworn brothers, for, as the poem declares, in what might well be the motto of an empire:

But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth.

McAndrew's Hymn gives the reflections of an old Scotch engineer who has found romance in the modern steamship and poetry in his engines. He calls for "a man like Bobbie Burns to sing the Song o' Steam," and himself sings splendid lines of his purring dynamos:

Fra' skylight-lift to furnace-bars, backed, bolted, braced an' stayed,
An' singing like the Mornin' Stars for joy that they were made.

His Moral Teaching. Modern as is Kipling's tone, his morality is ancient. On the occasion of Queen Victoria's second jubilee in 1897 he sent to the London *Times* his *Recessional*, a chant for the departing captains and kings and a plea for humility in a time of national pride.

The tumult and the shouting dies —
The captains and the kings depart —
Still stands Thine ancient Sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget — lest we forget.

His fiction and poetry have indeed interpreted the ideals and faith of the British people. He has written much to amuse,

but whether writing of the jungle or the barrack, for children or for their elders, he worships not only the God of things as they are but also the God of our fathers known of old.

Fiction

Three Masters. In reviewing Kipling's brilliant career we have seen the large part that the short story has come to play in our reading. The full-sized novel, however, has not been displaced. The fiction produced every year is indeed so vast in quantity and so varied in form and subject matter that it defies classification. Some of the most important novels of this period were written by Meredith and Hardy, whom we have discussed among the Victorian novelists. They continued to write, however, and both as novelists and poets to exercise an increasing influence on the new generation. Another novelist, Henry James, three years younger than Hardy, lived until the opening year of the Great War and had an important following among the younger writers. An American by birth, he spent the later half of his life in England and finally took English citizenship upon the outbreak of the War. Many of his novels present both Americans and Europeans, but his later stories were mostly concerned with the life of the English leisure class. A great artist in the use of words, and keenly interested in the finer shadings of intellect and character, he sought to give expression to an ideal of beautiful living which requires leisure, wisdom, and a social amenity that are rather remote from everyday activity. With Meredith and Hardy, James may be placed among the intellectual and artistic leaders of the older generation of novelists.

Twentieth Century Novelists. Among the later novelists there have been writers of romance, as Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch, author of *The Splendid Spur*, and Maurice Hewlett, whose *Richard Yea and Nay* tells of Cœur de Lion. Chief among the realists is Arnold Bennett, who has written detailed and

powerful studies of the Five Towns with their pottery manufactures and their work-a-day lives. Of these, *Old Wives' Tale* and *Clayhanger* are the best. In most cases, however, the old terms romance and realism are not very applicable to modern fiction. Joseph Conrad, for example, writes tales of the sea or of the Eastern Archipelago or of South America with strange scenes and unusual events, but his "romances" are vivid with fact, reality, and truth. By birth a Pole though now a naturalized English citizen, he was for twenty years a deep-water sailor and was nearly forty years old before he wrote the first of a series of novels that have gradually won the admiration of discerning readers. *Nostromo* is perhaps his masterpiece. Neither romanticist nor realist is the term to apply to Sir James Matthew Barrie, who is as real and penetrating in his analysis of human nature as he is whimsical and fantastic in devising scenes and stories. Since his recent work has been mostly in the drama, we may leave his novels until we come to speak of him as dramatist.

H. G. Wells. The most popular novelist so far in the twentieth century is Herbert G. Wells, and his career and work may both be taken as representative of much that has been going on in the world of work and of ideas. He was born in 1866 in humble circumstances, apprenticed for a time as assistant to a linen draper, then made his way through school to a bachelor's degree with honors in zoölogy. After a few years as school teacher and then as journalist, he produced his first novel in 1895. *The Time Machine* tells of an invention which can transport us backward or forward in time, and offers an interesting account of what society will be in centuries to come. This was the first of a series of "romances of science," in which the marvels of modern invention excited the fancy of the author. In *The War in the Air* he foretold much that has come to pass far sooner than any one expected. Along with these exciting anticipations of what invention might make true, he also produced a group of treatises which deal less with me-

chanical wonders and more with prophecies as to the reconstruction of society. *New Worlds for Old* is one of the best of this group, criticizing the present state of affairs and looking to a new order of society to be constituted with the aid of invention, science, and reason. In the meantime, however, he published several stories in lighter vein, as *Kipps* and *Mr. Polly,* studies of middle class life that are altogether delightful.

Wells as Teacher. In 1909 appeared *Tono-Bungay,* an amazing story of a colossal swindle, by which much advertising of a patent medicine brings enormous wealth though final disaster. In this, as in most of the novels which he has written, Mr. Wells is concerned with the modern world of work, business, and politics, and with the love of man and woman as it is complicated and changed in this later period of civilization and science. He is still intensely interested in science and invention, at home with conditions of middle class life in England, intent on projects and dreams for the improvement of society, and in these later novels much inclined to turn his story into a sermon. In other words, he, like so many other modern writers, is intensely concerned in making literature a means of reform, an aid in the search for perfection. In *Mr. Britling Sees It Through* (1916) he tells of the change in the life and thought of an Englishman wrought by the Great War with its sacrifice and bereavements. Its great popularity is another indication that serious moral and religious teaching is by no means unwelcome in the novel.

Four Traits of Recent Fiction. Mr. Wells's novels may be taken as representing at least four diverse traits which characterize much of the fiction of our day. First, there is the interest in science and invention, which furnish a new world of wonder. Second, the effort to depict social and industrial conditions goes hand in hand with the desire to improve them. Third, a light-hearted and humorous view of some of our social conventions affords a variation on the more direct and ponderous attack of the reformer. Fourth, the novel continues

to sound a serious call for better morality, a more vital religion, and greater earnestness. We shall find these characteristics existing also in the drama.

Drama

Ibsen's Influence. In the twentieth century the drama promises to resume something of that importance in English literature which it has not had for two hundred years. Through the eighteenth and nineteenth century few plays have been written in English which have succeeded both on the stage and with readers. By the year 1900, however, there were signs in almost every European nation of a renewed interest in the drama. The revival was due partly to the leadership of the Norwegian dramatist, Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), and his influence is still powerful. Ibsen is best known by his so-called social plays, which attack in a realistic way the evils of society. Of these *A Doll's House* (1879), pleading for individuality in women, raised an enormous amount of discussion throughout Europe; and *Ghosts*, with its unrelenting exposure of disease and vice, caused an even greater tumult of criticism. Besides these realistic prose dramas of current conditions, Ibsen also wrote poetical and fantastic pieces, of which the unquestioned masterpiece is *Peer Gynt*. His influence has been felt in subsequent writers, both in the discussion of social evils and their reform, and in the revival of poetry and fancy on the stage. Moreover, Ibsen became a master of dramatic construction. He gave up soliloquies, asides, and other old conventions, and in his presentation of scene or dialogue attained a directness and simplicity with an absence of theatrical artificiality.

Changes in the Theater. In connection with the revival of interest in the drama, there has been a period of revolution in the theater. As dramatists have tried to express new ideas in a new way, changes in the stage and acting have been rendered necessary. Small theaters have been built suited to

conversational plays and intimate effects. On the other hand, there have been huge out-of-door pageants with hundreds of actors. There have been many novelties in scenery and stage-setting, and also in theatrical management. The theater is still in a period of experiment and change. It seems likely that we shall have more and better theaters that will serve the public to greater advantage than have their predecessors. One part of that service may well be the encouragement of drama which has a real appeal to the imagination.

The Irish Drama. One of the most interesting of the theatrical and dramatic experiments has been the establishment at Dublin in 1904 of the Abbey Theater. This was part of a movement to create in Ireland an interest in Irish literature, a nationalistic movement which has many parallels in the smaller European nations. The plays given at the Abbey Theater are mostly of two types — plays of contemporary Irish peasants, usually in prose, and plays retelling the stories of old Irish mythical legend, usually in verse. The Irish revival led to a study of the old Gaelic and has produced many novels, essays, and poems; but the drama has been its favorite form of expression. The Irish writers now form a considerable group which up to the War seemed to be rapidly increasing. Its two chief dramatists have been W. B. Yeats and John Synge. Yeats, a leader in the movement, had long been known for poetry, mystical in theme and possessing unusual charm in rhythm and image. His best-known drama is the pretty fairy play of *The Land of Heart's Desire*, his most ambitious, the tragedy *Deirdre of the Sorrows*. His aim can best be stated in his own words: "Tragic art, passionate art . . . moves us to reverie, by alluring us almost to the intensity of trance."

Quite apart from both the mysticism of Yeats and the intellectual social reform of Ibsen, are the plays of Synge. They deal with Irish peasants and are based on Synge's experience on the Aran Islands, and are written in a prose which uses the native idiom and rhythm, but with a singular beauty. He had

neither vision nor moral lesson to present; he declared that drama needed only reality and joy. His dramas have more of reality than joy, whether he tells a tragic story, as in *Riders to the Sea*, or jests at a preposterous boaster, as in *The Playboy of the Western World*. The joy that Synge had in mind was an imaginative joy, and that comes with the excitement and stir which his vivid pictures of reality bring to the mind of reader or spectator.

English Dramatists. In England, among the followers of Ibsen, Sir Arthur W. Pinero and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones have been writing constantly through the period. They have followed Ibsen both in the simplification of dramatic construction and in the discussion of the hypocrisies and evils of society. Pinero's *Second Mrs. Tanqueray* won him a European reputation and played a large part in the revival of serious and courageous drama. *The Thunderbolt* is perhaps the best of his later work. The first play which Jones wrote to please himself was *Saints and Sinners*, and it made a great hit as well as aroused much criticism. During the forty years that have followed he has written many plays, of which *Rebellious Susan* and *The Liars* are among the best. John Galsworthy, one of the chief masters of prose style and author of various short stories and novels, has written *Strife* and *Justice*, powerful dramas of contemporary life. Chief among those influenced by Ibsen, however, has been George Bernard Shaw. From Ibsen he learnt the art of combining social satire with effective dramatic entertainment, but he is a writer of marked originality who has developed both satire and drama after his own fashion. He must be regarded as one of the most remarkable contributors to twentieth century literature.

George Bernard Shaw. George Bernard Shaw was born in 1856 in Dublin, went to London when he was twenty and for ten years there passed through his apprenticeship as a writer. The total receipts from his pen during those years were only thirty dollars. During this time of poverty he became a total

abstainer, a vegetarian, and a socialist, modes of conduct and thought to which he has adhered. In his thirties he won note as dramatic critic especially by his advocacy of Ibsen's methods, and before he was forty had written several plays. It was not until the early years of the twentieth century, however, that Shaw's plays made a great success in the theater, at first in America, then in England and on the Continent, especially in Germany. *Candida, Man and Superman,* and *Fanny's First Play* are among the most successful. Mr. Shaw is a reformer and a satirist, and in his plays he does not hesitate to discuss and argue as one might in a tract or a pamphlet. It cannot be said that he excels in constructing plays or creating characters, but no one has written more brilliant or witty dialogues. Mr. Shaw believes in what Burke called the "dissidence of dissent." His motto might well be Ibsen's famous saying "a minority may be right — a majority is always wrong." He is always in the minority and often in a minority of one, attacking vigorously the ideas accepted by the majority. He delights in paradox, in maintaining the opposite of an accepted truth, in exercising his wit in trying to prove that the world is topsy-turvy, that the majority of us are standing on our heads. *Man and Superman,* for example, maintains that, contrary to the usual belief, it is women who pursue men, not men women. Tanner, the mere man, after the woman has caught him, declares, "I solemnly say that I am not a happy man. Ann looks happy; but she is only triumphant, successful, victorious. That is not happiness, but the price for which the strong sell their happiness." — So he goes on vehemently, and when some one interrupts him to call him a brute, Ann pats his arm and says, "Never mind, dear. Go on talking." "Talking!" gasps the victim.

Shaw's plays go on talking — and it is very clever, preposterous, stimulating, amusing, brilliant. But like Tanner in the play, he seems to wish to be taken seriously, and occasionally becomes annoyed that any one should think it "mere talking."

Sir James Barrie. Very different from Shaw is his rival in popularity on the English stage, Sir James M. Barrie. His plays are devoted to fancy and whimsicality, not realism and satire. He is fond of paradox, like Shaw, but he rarely lectures or scolds us; and however fanciful his story, it is always full of human sentiment and character. Four years younger than Shaw, he was born in Scotland, educated at Edinburgh University, and passed through the author's common experience of journalism and poverty. His *Auld Licht Idylls* and *A Window in Thrums* were collections of sketches of life and character in his native town of Kirriemuir. The "Jess" of these stories is his mother, and in the book which bears her own name, "Margaret Ogilvy," as a title, Barrie has paid her a loving tribute. She aided him in his earlier work, racking her memory for stories of Thrums characters that he could use. In 1891 appeared *The Little Minister*, followed shortly by *Sentimental Tommy* and its sequel *Tommy and Grizel*. *The Little Minister* tells of a Scotch minister who brought home a gypsy wife and on this theme builds up a story extravagant in plot but rich in sentiment and humor. *Sentimental Tommy* and its sequel tell of a dreaming and sentimental boy who becomes a famous author but remains a boy, an artist, and an actor, never quite able to grow into a man and never fully worthy of the serious and motherly Grizel.

Barrie's Plays. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Sir James has written almost entirely for the theater and has won there the greatest popularity. *The Admirable Crichton*, *What Every Woman Knows*, *The Legend of Leonore*, *Dear Brutus*, and that lovely little one of the War, *The Old Lady Shows Her Medals*, are all whimsical and delightful. They unite truth of character and sentiment, abounding humor, and extravagant fantasy as have no dramas since Shakespeare's romantic comedies. There is satire of social convention and discussion of modern problems, as in so many modern plays, but with Barrie and Shakespeare fairyland lies close to the world of reality, and

the spectator is likely to be whisked there on the slightest warning. The best known of all modern plays is his *Peter Pan.* Peter like Sentimental Tommy is a boy who never grew up, but he is happier in fairyland than Tommy was in his struggle with reality. Peter goes with Wendy to a world where there are pirates and redskins and a crocodile and the fairy Tinker Bell and the terrible Captain Hook. After his victory over the captain, Peter cries out "I'm Youth — eternal Youth! I'm the sun rising! I'm the poet's song. I'm a little bird that has broken out of its egg. I'm joy." Wendy does not make such fine speeches as Peter, but she is the spirit of motherliness — a quality, as the critics have noted, which Barrie always finds in his women. In a period when the drama has been so much given over to discussion and has told so many unpleasant stories and dwelt so much on the worse side of love and marriage, it should be remembered that the best-liked play is a fairy story for children that delights their parents with its pictures of the eternal boy and the child mother.

Poetry

Its Variety. Poetry in this period has been abundant in quantity, varied in subject, form, and purpose. It has not been dominated by one great genius as in the age of Chaucer and the age of Pope. It has not been characterized by common ideas and purposes, as was the poetry of the romantic movement from Burns to Byron. There have been few writers of the first rank who have devoted their genius exclusively to poetry as did Wordsworth and Tennyson and Browning. But many of the men who have won distinction in prose have also written verse that has added something rich and rare to the great treasury of English poetry. Meredith, Hardy, Stevenson, and Kipling, among those whom we have already considered, have written poetry as original and as memorable as their prose. The diversity of purpose that has been manifested is

itself a sign that poetry is vigorous, growing, and promising a still richer bloom in the future.

Innovations. In recent years the tendency to novelty and experiment has been exhibited in two general directions. First, the sharp distinction between prose and verse has been felt to be artificial, and there have been many efforts to write forms of verse which violate the strict limits of regular measure but preserve rhythm and a pictorial power not attainable in ordinary prose. Second, the range of subjects suitable for poetry has seemed narrow and in need of enlargement. Poets have been eager to say something new, to put the factory, the steamship, the brutalized workingman, or the ideal of socialist theory into verse. There has been a notable record of experiments, and only time can tell which will survive.

Followers of Tradition. Amid all this zeal for novelty and progress, many poets have kept rather to the old and tried traditions. The kind of themes which inspired Keats, Tennyson, Rossetti, and Swinburne have inspired them to attempt new music on the fine instruments which those poets played with such mastery. Sir William Watson, whose first poems appeared in 1880, has ever since shown a lofty moral purpose and a skillful art. What he wrote of Burns may be said of his own poems.

> A dreamer of the common dreams,
> A fisher in familiar streams,
> He chased the transitory gleams
> That all pursue;
> But on his lips the eternal themes
> Again were new.

Francis Thompson (1859–1907), a Roman Catholic, gave to religious ideas, notably in *The Hound of Heaven*, that union of mysticism and sensuousness such as is found in Coleridge or the Pre-Raphaelites. Stephen Phillips (1868–1915) was another poet who treated old themes with a fresh beauty. His *Marpessa* and *Christ in Hades* received an immediate welcome from

the public, and were followed by a series of poetical dramas, including *Paolo and Francesca*, *Ulysses*, and *Nero*. Alfred Austin, poet laureate from 1891 to 1913, was a more imitative, and his successor Robert Bridges a more scholarly, follower of the traditional ways of nineteenth century poetry. More recently, Alfred Noyes has won much popularity by exuberant and melodious verse which sings of the love of England, a simple faith, and a buoyant idealism.

W. W. Gibson. Of the more radical experimentation in poetic form as represented by various theories of *vers libre* (free verse), more has been attempted in France and the United States than in England. Of the dozen or more English poets who have already added something of decided novelty and originality to twentieth century poetry, without discarding old rhythms, two may be selected for special notice, — Wilfred Gibson and John Masefield. Mr. Gibson's purpose is not unlike Wordsworth's: to find spiritual truth in stories of the humble poor, told in their own simple and unaffected language. But where Wordsworth went to the Cumberland farmers Gibson has gone to the factory worker and shop girl, and though he has used a simple vocabulary and rhythm he has adapted these most skillfully to the varying moods and experiences of the working classes. *Daily Bread*, *Fires*, and *Thoroughfares* are the titles of collections of narratives and dialogues that bring poetry into a world of reality where it has hitherto been a stranger.

FIRES

Snug in my easy chair,
I stirred the fire to flame.
Fantastically fair,
The flickering fancies came,
Born of heart's desire:
Amber woodland streaming;
Topaz islands dreaming;
Sunset-cities gleaming,
Spire on burning spire;

Ruddy-windowed taverns;
Sunshine-spilling wines;
Crystal-lighted caverns
Of Golconda's mines;
Summers, unreturning;
Passion's crater yearning;
Troy, the ever-burning;
Shelley's lustral pyre;
Dragon-eyes, unsleeping;
Witches' cauldrons leaping;
Golden galleys sweeping
Out from sea-walled Tyre:
Fancies, fugitive and fair,
Flashed with singing through the air;
Till, dazzled by the drowsy glare,
I shut my eyes to heat and light;
And saw, in sudden night,
Crouched in the dripping dark,
With steaming shoulders stark,
The man who hews the coal to feed my fire.

John Masefield. Masefield, like Gibson, writes of the actualities of daily work and poverty, but his pictures are less drab and his music less doleful. His own life, like his verse, has shared hard labor and poverty with adventure and dreams. Born in 1874, at fourteen he was indentured as a sailor, and after years at sea, worked in the United States as farm laborer and factory hand. The poems which first won him an appreciative hearing from a large public were *The Everlasting Mercy* and *The Widow of the Bye-Street*. The first tells, in language colloquial and violent, of a brutal drunkard who goes through a prize fight and a prolonged debauch, and finally awakens to the miracle of the Everlasting Mercy. Some lines describing his conversion will indicate how common and even ugly things image for Masefield spiritual beauty.

Out into darkness, out to night,
My flaring heart gave plenty light,
So wild it was there was no knowing
Whether the clouds or stars were blowing;

Blown chimney pots and folk blown blind,
And puddles glimmering like my mind,
And clinking glass from windows banging,
And inn signs swung like people hanging,
And in my heart the drink unpriced,
The burning cataracts of Christ.

I did not think, I did not strive,
The deep peace burnt my me alive;
The bolted door had broken in,
I knew that I had done with sin.
I knew that Christ had given me birth
To brother all the souls on earth,
And every bird and every beast
Should share the crumbs broke at the feast.

O glory of the lighted mind.
How dead I'd been, how dumb, how blind.
The station brook, to my new eyes,
Was babbling out of Paradise,
The waters rushing from the rain
Were singing Christ has risen again.
I thought all earthly creatures knelt
From rapture of the joy I felt.
The narrow station-wall's brick ledge,
The wild hop withering in the hedge,
The lights in huntsman's upper story
Were parts of an eternal glory,
Were God's eternal garden flowers.
I stood in bliss at this for hours.

O glory of the lighted soul.
The dawn came up on Bradlow Knoll,
The dawn with glittering on the grasses,
The dawn which pass and never passes.

"It's dawn," I said, "and chimney's smoking,
And all the blessed fields are soaking.
It's dawn, and there's an engine shunting;
And hounds, for huntsman's going hunting.
It's dawn, and I must wander north
Along the road Christ led me forth."

The Widow of the Bye-Street is a story of brutal crime, but in other poems, as *Dauber*, *Daffodil Fields*, and *Biography*, as in his sea ballads and sonnets, Masefield is less violently realistic, more thoughtful and not less sincere in his search for beauty.

Poetry of the War. The Great War, which has stirred so deeply the emotions of all men, has inevitably left a record of heroism and suffering in English poetry. There have been many poems telling of the experiences of the soldiers in the trenches and many others telling of the bereavements of those waiting at home. None of these have found a wider response in English hearts than the poems of Rupert Brooke, who died of blood poisoning while on his way to the Dardanelles in 1915. The opening lines of his best-known sonnet express a sentiment that the nation will not soon forget —

> If I should die, think only this of me:
> That there's some corner of a foreign land
> That is forever England.

Conclusion

The Search for Beauty. What is this search for beauty to which poetry has so long been dedicated? In the first place, let us remember that this search is shared by average men as well as by the poets. In our own generation, the general public has welcomed with enthusiasm the poems of Kipling, Phillips, Noyes, and Masefield and reveled in the new vision offered to the imagination. Men desire beauty as they desire goodness, and it is the part of the fine arts to satisfy and at the same time to quicken and enlarge this desire. The beautiful cannot be defined precisely any more than can the true and the good, and its dwelling places are even more varied than theirs. It is found in form or color or sound, in face and figure, in the molds of nature and in the designs of men, in sentiment and in character, in the innocence of childhood, and in the deeds of men and of nations. It dwells in things customary, useful, and pleas-

urable, as in the old farm house, or in things novel, strange, and portentous, as the burning forest. It is found in vitality and action, in repose and harmony, and in all its forms it calls upon the imagination for appreciation and admiration. Prose may reveal beauty as well as verse, but since the earliest days of the race, language with rhythm, music, and image has had the surer key with which to unlock the joy that the mind offers as its tribute to beauty revealed. To-day poetry is continuing its ministration, returning often to the abodes where men have always found beauty, to the starry heavens, the setting sun, the ceaseless waves, the flowering spring, or the faces of those we love, and yet seeking new hiding places in our changing world, in the new cities, the new machines, the many inventions of men. Indeed, if civilization is to advance toward perfection, the realm of Beauty must grow as grow the realms of Truth and Righteousness. And poetry must ever seek for beauty in places where men have not found it before. When we say that poetry is one of the great glories of the English nation, we mean in part that through the centuries the nation has ever been renewing and enlarging its feeling for the beautiful.

The Many Services of Literature. We must remember, however, in closing our survey of this modern period that literature is not merely a fine art and it is not devoted solely to the search for beauty. It is also a practical art, seeking definite ends, to convey information, to afford entertainment and instruction, to influence men's conduct and behavior. We have found it often turning from the search for beauty to advocate a reform, to denounce an evil, to preach an idea. It seeks the good and the true as well as the beautiful; moreover, the search for the three is rarely separated. Poetry can make use of reason and morality, and almost every form of prose may delight us with the fitness or the charm of its words. If poetry may enrapture the mind, books of history, science, politics, and philosophy may have an appeal to our sympathies and imagination no less truly than to our reason.

Writers in Various Fields. No one can survey English literature of the last forty years without marveling at the extent and variety of its manifestations. We can mention only a few of the names which stand for great literary achievement outside of the special fields of fiction, drama, and verse. From among the leaders in politics and government, our list would include Lloyd George, whose speeches have so stirred the nation's heart; Arthur James Balfour, philosopher and orator as well as statesman; Lord Bryce, sage writer on history and government; and Lord Morley, essayist, critic, biographer, and perhaps the chief man of letters of our generation. It would select from the scientists Lord Avebury, who has written fascinatingly of bees, ants, and wasps; and Sir Francis Galton, who has interested many readers in his studies of heredity. It would select scholars like Gilbert Murray and Sir Leslie Stephen, who have interpreted literature for us with new significance. And from the many essayists it must not omit Gilbert K. Chesterton, for none has written more vigorously and entertainingly.

The Future of Literature. Our brief list stops with the names of a few of these makers of literature who have won high honor and praise. It can only suggest the variety and the excellence of what is being done by a host of writers whose work, whether it lasts or not, will have done something to guide our present generation along the upward paths of civilization. English literature records the progress of some twelve hundred years, a progress full of defeat as well as victory, but ever moving, we believe, toward a better and wiser life. If civilization continues to advance, if men continue to seek after perfection, if generation after generation desires to leave the world better for its endeavor, we may be sure that literature will continue to grow, to find new means to reach more men, and still to respond to the best and the most beautiful that life affords.

Guides to Study

Reading. The following list is suggested as a guide for a first acquaintance with the literature of the period.

Novelists: Stevenson: Treasure Island, Kidnapped, A Lodging for the Night, Inland Voyage, Travels with a Donkey, Lantern Bearers. Kipling: Jungle Books, Kim, The Man Who Would be King, With the Night Mail. James: Daisy Miller, The Turn of the Screw. Hewlett: Richard Yea and Nay. Bennett: Buried Alive. Conrad: Victory. Barrie: The Little Minister. Wells: The War in the Air, Tono-Bungay.

Dramatists: Yeats: The Land of Heart's Desire. Synge: Playboy of the Western World. Shaw: Candida. Barrie: Echoes of the War (three plays).

Poets: Watson: Wordsworth's Grave. Phillips: Marpessa. Noyes: Highwayman, The Barrel Organ. Masefield: Dauber. Gibson: The Shop. Stevenson: Ticonderoga. Kipling: McAndrew's Hymn, Ballad of East and West, Recessional.

Questions. What great writers died between 1881 and 1900? What new developments arose in the world about 1880? What growth did the British Empire experience in this period? What marvelous growth of invention took place? What social reforms? How was all this progress manifest in the conduct of the Great War?

Comment upon the increasing amount of printed matter. Do people read more now than ever before? In what ways has fiction become specialized? Discuss the range of English literature to-day.

Give some reasons for Stevenson's popularity. Why do you feel that you know the man as well as his books? Whom else mentioned in this history do you know as well? Whom do you like as well? Tell the facts of his life.

Find some humorous passages in the Travels with a Donkey; some good descriptions. Tell the story of his last home. Quote his epitaph. Compare his essays with those which you have read in Lamb and Hazlitt. In what respects was Stevenson a romanticist? On what does his greatness rest?

What do you know about Kipling's early life? How did his early preparation for work differ from Stevenson's? What new note did he strike? Which of the Barrack Room Ballads do you know? Repeat a stanza from Mandalay. Name Kipling's chief long novels; his best-known poems; some good short stories. Discuss the modern development of the short story. What are the chief characteristics of this form of fiction? What distinguishing features have Kipling's short stories? In what ways

do his animals in the Jungle Book illustrate a human society? Who is the gentleman? the villain? the wise man? What admirable code of ethics is found in the poems between the stories? What are the themes of his poems? What is ancient in Kipling's teaching? What is your favorite among his poems?

With what masters of the English novel may Henry James be ranked? Name five twentieth century novelists. What is the scene of Arnold Bennett's longer novels? What personal experience does Conrad use in his novels? What do you mean by calling Barrie whimsical? Who is the most popular novelist in England to-day? Why has he been called a prophet? What can you say of Wells as a teacher? Who else has taught by means of fiction? What diverse traits of modern fiction do Wells's novels represent?

What place in our literary interest does the drama occupy to-day? When did renewed interest in the drama begin to appear? How did Ibsen influence English drama? What changes have come about in the theater? Describe the Irish theatrical experiment. What types of plays were given at the Abbey Theater? What names are prominent in this movement? How do their writings differ? Name some followers of Ibsen in England. For what type of drama does Bernard Shaw stand? Tell of his early struggles. In what does he excel? Recall other satirists mentioned in this book. Can you illustrate his use of paradox? In which of Barrie's books do you find hints of autobiography? What kind of boy is Sentimental Tommy? What Barrie plays have you seen? Give instances in which he brings fairyland into everyday life. What qualities characterize Barrie's writings? What makes Peter Pan a classic?

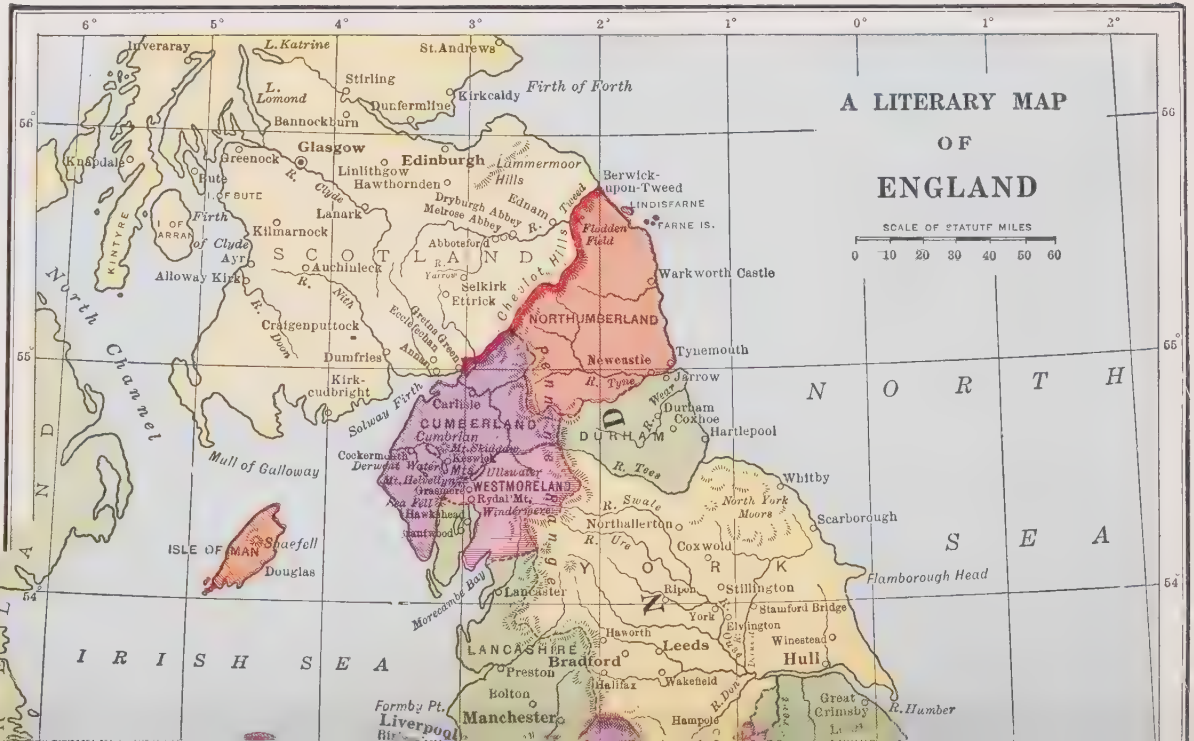
What characterizes the poetry of this period? What innovations does it show? Name some followers of tradition. Name some innovators. What themes are dealt with in the poetry of Gibson? Tell the story of one of Masefield's longer poems. How is the Great War reflected in poetry?

Topics for Oral and Written Composition. Favorite Passages from Modern Poets. The Influence of Modern Magazines. The Boyhood of Robert Louis Stevenson. Barrie's Mother in His Books. Slang in Literature. A Comparison of Peter Ibbetson and The Brushwood Boy. Masefield's Sea Pictures in Dauber Compared with Swinburne's. Masefield's Ugliness in The Widow of the Bye-Street Compared with Crabbe's in The Village. Kipling's Ortheris in Soldiers Three, and an American Private in the Great War. Up in the Air with Wells. The Melody of the Poetry of Alfred Noyes. Free Verse. Some Good War Poetry. A Barrie Play. Kipling's Unusual Words. A Great Personality in English Literature.

Chronological Outline, 1881–1918

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1882. Avebury, *Ants, Bees, and Wasps.* Stevenson, *New Arabian Nights.* Swinburne, *Tristram.* Darwin, Rossetti, and Trollope died.	1882. Longfellow and Emerson died. Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People.*	
1883. Stevenson, *Treasure Island.*	1883. Nietzsche, *Zarathustra* begun. Verhaeren, *Des Flamandes.* Turgenieff died. Wagner died.	1883. Triple Alliance, Germany, Austria, Italy.
1884. Tennyson, *Becket.* Jones, *Saints and Sinners.*	1884. Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finn.*	
1885. Meredith, *Diana of the Crossways.* Pater, *Marius. Dictionary of National Biography*, Vols. I–III. Ruskin, *Præterita.* Stevenson, *Child's Garden of Verses.*	1885. Howells, *Rise of Silas Lapham.*	1885. Death of Gordon at Khartum.
1886. Kipling, *Departmental Ditties.* James, *Bostonians.* Stevenson, *Kidnapped, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.* Tennyson, *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After.*	1886. Ibsen, *Rosmersholm.*	1886. Gladstone brings in Home Rule Bill.
1887. Browning, *Parleyings.*		1887. Victoria Jubilee.
1888. Arnold, *Essays in Criticism*, 2d Series. Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills.* Barrie, *A Window in Thrums.* M. Arnold died.	1888. Lowell, *Political Essays.*	1888. Wilhelm II, German Emperor.
1889. Browning, *Asolando.* Bryce, *American Commonwealth.* Quiller-Couch, *Splendid Spur.* Pater, *Appreciations.* Tennyson, *Demeter.* Stevenson, *Master of Ballantrae.* Browning died.	1889. Tolstoi, *Kreutzer Sonata.*	1889. Constitution promulgated in Japan.
1890. Phillips, *Marpessa.* Newman died.	1890. Ibsen, *Hedda Gabler.*	1890. Fall of Bismarck.
1891. Barrie, *Little Minister.* Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles.*	1891. Lowell died.	1891. Franco-Russian Alliance.
1892. Kipling, *Barrack Room Ballads.* Tennyson died.	1892. Hauptmann, *The Weavers.*	
1893. Kipling, *Many Inventions.* Pinero, *Second Mrs. Tanqueray.* Stevenson, *David Balfour.* Francis Thompson, *Poems.* Tyndall died.	1893. Maupassant died.	1893. World's Fair, Chicago.
1894. Du Maurier, *Trilby.* Kipling, *Jungle Book.* Stevenson died.	1894. Selma Lagerlof, *Gosta Berling.*	
1895. Balfour, *Foundations of Belief.* William Sharp, *Mountain Lovers.* H. G. Wells, *Time Machine.*		

English Literature	Foreign Literature	History
1896. Barrie, *Sentimental Tommy*. Hardy, *Jude the Obscure*. Meredith, *The Amazing Marriage*.	1896. Galdos, *Helma*.	1896. Marconi experiments with wireless.
1897. Stevenson-Quiller-Couch, *St. Ives*.		1897. Second Victoria Jubilee.
1898. Shaw, *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant*.		
1900. Hewlett, *Richard Yea and Nay*. Pinero, *Thunderbolts*. Shaw, *Three Plays for Puritans*.	1900. Tolstoi, *Resurrection*.	1900. Boxer Outbreak in China.
1901. Kipling, *Kim*.		1901. Edward VII.
1902. Phillips, *Ulysses*.	1902. Maeterlinck, *Monna Vanna*.	
1903. Conrad, *Nostromo*. Hardy, *The Dynasts* begun. Morley, *Life of Gladstone*. Shaw, *Man and Superman*.		1903. Cable around the world. Wright Brothers make first mechanical flight with aëroplane.
1904. Barrie, *Peter Pan*. Galsworthy, *Island Pharisees*.		1904. War between Russia and Japan.
1905. James, *The Golden Bowl*. Synge, *Riders to the Sea*.		
1906. Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill*. Wells, *War in the Air*.	1906. Ibsen died.	1906. San Francisco earthquake.
1907. Synge, *Playboy of the Western World*. Yeats, *Deirdre*. Francis Thompson died.	1907. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*.	
1908. Barrie, *What Every Woman Knows*. Bennett, *Old Wives' Tale*. Noyes, *Drake*. Chesterton, *The Man Who Was Thursday*.	1908. Anatole France, *Life of Jeanne d'Arc*, *Penguin Island*. Maeterlinck, *Blue Bird*.	1908. Morocco Agreement, France and Germany.
1909. Galsworthy, *Strife*. Kipling, *Actions and Reactions*. Wells, *Tono-Bungay*. Meredith died. Synge died.		1909. Peary reaches the North Pole.
1910. Bennett, *Clayhanger*. Galsworthy, *Justice*. Gibson, *Daily Bread*. Masefield, *Everlasting Mercy*.	1910. Tolstoi died. Mark Twain died.	
1911. Shaw, *Fanny's First Play*.		1910. George V. War between Italy and Turkey.
1912. Masefield, *Dauber*. Yeats, *Land of Heart's Desire*.		1912. Third Home Rule Bill. Chinese Republic established.
1913. Noyes, *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern*.		
		1914. The Great War.
	1915. Anatole France, *The Path of Glory*.	
1916. Wells, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*.		
		1918. The Armistice.


A LITERARY MAP
OF
ENGLAND
SCALE OF STATUTE MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
Inveraray
L. Katrine
St. Andrews
Stirling
L. Lomond
Kirkcaldy
Firth of Forth
Dunfermline
Bannockburn
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Lammermoor Hills
Knapdale
Greenock
Bute
I. OF BUTE
Linlithgow
Hawthornden
Berwick-upon-Tweed
LINDISFARNE
FARNE IS.
Dryburgh Abbey
Melrose Abbey
Ednam
Tweed
Flodden Field
Lanark
Firth of Clyde
I. OF ARRAN
KINTYRE
Kilmarnock
Abbotsford
Ayr
SCOTLAND
Auchinleck
Yarrow
Selkirk
Ettrick
Warkworth Castle
Alloway Kirk
Nith
Cheviot Hills
North Channel
Craigenputtock
Gretna Green
Ecclefechan
Annan
NORTHUMBERLAND
Tynemouth
Dumfries
Newcastle
Kirk-cudbright
Solway Firth
Carlisle
Jarrow
Durham
Coxhoe
Hartlepool
CUMBERLAND
Cumbrian
DURHAM
Mull of Galloway
Cockermouth
Mt. Skiddaw
Keswick
Derwent Water
Mts. Ullswater
Mt. Helvellyn
WESTMORELAND
Grasmere
Rydal Mt.
Windermere
Sea Fell
Hawkshead
Whitby
North York Moors
Scarborough
Northallerton
Coxwold
ISLE OF MAN
Snaefell
Douglas
YORK
Flamborough Head
Lancaster
Ripon
Stillington
Morecambe Bay
York
Stamford Bridge
Elvington
Haworth
Leeds
Winestead
LANCASHIRE
Bradford
Hull
Preston
Halifax
Wakefield
Bolton
Great Grimsby
R. Humber
Formby Pt.
Manchester
Hampole
Liverpool
IRISH SEA
NORTH SEA
Pennine Range
R. Tyne
R. Wear
R. Tees
R. Swale
R. Ure
R. Don
R. Ouse
R. Clyde
R. Doon
R. Nith
6° 5° 4° 3° 2° 1° 0° 1° 2°
56° 55° 54°

St. George's Channel
Cardigan Bay
Bristol Channel
Hartland Pt.
Barnstaple Bay
Lundy
Lands End
Lizard Pt.
Start Pt.
Portland Bill
Beachy Head
Selsey Bill
Boulogne
Calais
Dieppe
Strait of Dover
ENGLISH CHANNEL
WALES
ENGLAND
Braich-y-Pwll
Cader Idris
MERIONETH
MONTGOMERY
CARDIGAN
RADNOR
Cardigan
New Radnor
Llanthony Abbey
Hereford
Malvern Hills
Shrewsbury
SHROPSHIRE
Stafford
Lichfield
STAFFORD
Derby
Nottingham
Kirkby Temple
Bosworth Field
LEICESTER
Leicester
RUTLAND
Oakham
Peterboro'
Cleobury Mortimer
Ludlow
Birmingham
WARWICK
Coventry
Kenilworth
Rugby
NORTHAMPTON
Northampton
Naseby
Lutterworth
HUNTINGDON
Huntingdon
Ely
CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge
Bedford
BEDFORD
Ouse
Nene
Wash
Kings Lynn
Wisbeach
Norwich
Great Yarmouth
Lowestoft
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
Bury St.Edmunds
Aldborough
Ipswich
Worcester
WORCESTER
Malvern Hills
Warwick
Stratford-upon-Avon
Banbury
Tewkesbury
Cheltenham
Gloucester
GLOUCESTER
OXFORD
Woodstock
Oxford
BUCKINGHAM
Aylesbury
Wantage
Abingdon
BERKSHIRE
Reading
Maidenhead
Windsor
Slough
HERTFORD
Hertford
St.Albans
Chelmsford
Saffron Walden
Colchester
ESSEX
Harwich
The Naze
Waltham Abbey
Epping
Harrow
MIDDLESEX
London
River Thames
Greenwich
Deptford
Woolwich
Sheerness
Rochester
Gravesend
North Foreland
Faversham
Canterbury
Dover
Maidstone
Tunbridge Wells
Folkestone
KENT
SURREY
Guildford
Dorking
Reigate
Croydon
Kingston
Richmond
Twickenham
Hampton Court
Chertsey
Staines
Windsor Forest
Bagshot
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South Downs
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The Solent
Basingstoke
Stevenston
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Selborne
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Alton
Odiham
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Mole
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Buckhurst
Tilford
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Tonbridge
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Aberystwyth
Machynlleth
Barmouth
Dolgelly
Bala
Corwen
Ruthin
Denbigh
Rhyl
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Glencoe
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Loch Ness
Loch Lomond
Loch Katrine
Loch Tay
Loch Rannoch
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Loch Fyne
Loch Long
Loch Goil
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Loch Ryan
Solway Firth
Firth of Clyde
Firth of Forth
Firth of Tay
Firth of Lorne
Sound of Mull
Sound of Jura
Sound of Islay
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Elgin
Forres
Nairn
Inverness
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Tain
Wick
Thurso
John o' Groats
Cape Wrath
Stornoway
Lewis
Harris
North Uist
South Uist
Benbecula
Barra
Skye
Portree
Kyle of Lochalsh
Eigg
Rum
Canna
Coll
Tiree
Colonsay
Gigha
Islay
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Connemara
Lough Corrib
Lough Mask
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Lough Gill
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Enniskillen
Omagh
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INDEX

Abbott, The, 320.
Absalom and Achitophel, 188, 189; quoted, 188, 189.
Absentee, The, 316.
Across the Plains, 422.
Action and Reactions, 427.
Acts and Monuments, 84.
Adam Bede, 404.
Addison, Joseph, 142, 200, 205, 207, 213–217, 222, 234, 237, 306, 309, 341, 343.
Admirable Crichton, The, 438.
Adonais, 288–289, 292; quoted, 289.
Advancement of Learning, 154.
Adventures of Harry Richmond, The, 409.
Ælfric, 15.
Æneid, 57, 172, 173; translated by Douglas, 54; translated by Surrey, 84.
Æschylus, 123, 411.
Æsop, 429.
Alchemist, The, 142.
Alfred the Great, 4, 14, 15, 24.
Alice in Wonderland, 357.
All for Love, 181, 188, 190.
allegory, 45, 46, 47, 102; defined, 47.
Amateur Emigrant, The, 422.
Amazing Marriage, The, 409.
Amelia, 231.
American Addresses, 357.
American Notes, 393.
Ancient Mariner, The Rime of the, 272–273, 305; quoted, 272–273.
Ancren Riwle, 34.
Andrea del Sarto, 375.
Anglo-Saxon, language, 4; literature, 5–17.
Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, 15, 24.
Annus Mirabilis, 188.
Anti-Jacobin, 303.
Antiquary, The, 320.
Antony and Cleopatra, 129, 181.
Apologia pro Vita Sua, 345.
Apology for Poetry, 99.
appreciative criticism, 303.
Arabian Nights, The, 409.
Arbuthnot, Dr., 205, 207.
Arcadia, The Countess of Pembroke's, 98, 99.
Areopagitica, 170; title page of, 170.
Ariosto, 77.
Aristotle, 216.
Arnold, Matthew, 288, 352–354, 358, 379–381.
Ars Poetica, 201.
As You Like It, 120, 130, 131.
Atalanta in Calydon, 386; quoted, 385.
Auld Lang Syne, quoted, 263.
Auld Licht Idylls, 438.
Aurora Leigh, 378.
Austen, Jane, 234, 314, 316–317, 324.
Austin, Alfred, 441.
Autobiographic Sketches, 311.
Avebury, Lord, 446.

Bacon, Francis, 92, 152–156, 176, 214.
Balder Dead, 381.
Bale, Bishop, 87.
Balestier, Wolcott, 425.
Balfour, A. J., 446.
Ballad of East and West, The, 430; quoted, 430.
ballads, 61–66.
Barbour, John, 53.
Bard, The, 246.
Barrack Room Ballads, 425.
Barrie, Sir J. M., 419, 420, 432, 438–439.
Barry Lyndon, 402–403.
Bartholomew Fair, 142.
Battle of Brunanburh, The, 16; Tennyson's translation quoted, 16.
Battle of Maldon, The, 16; quoted, 17.

Battle of the Baltic, The, 293.
Battle of the Books, 208, 211.
Beauchamp's Career, 409.
Beaumont, Francis, 139, 142, 143.
Becket, 370.
Beckford, William, 314.
Bede, 11.
Beggar's Opera, The, 221.
Bennett, Arnold, 431-432.
Benoît de Ste. More, 47.
Bentley, Richard, 204.
Beowulf, 5–10, 13, 17, 65, 385; quoted, 5, 8, 9.
Bevis of Hampton, 33.
Bible, Translations of, by Wyclif, 42; by Tyndale, 83, 96, 97; Geneva, 96; Douay, 96; Rheims, 96; King James Authorized Version, 83, 96, 97.
Biographia Literaria, 303.
Biography, 444.
Bishop Orders his Tomb, The, 375.
Black Dwarf, The, 320.
Blackwood's Magazine, 290, 301, 303, 403.
Blake, William, 250, 294–295.
Bleak House, 393, 395.
Blessed Damozel, The, quoted, 383.
Blind Harry, 54.
Blot in the 'Scutcheon, A, 373, 374.
Boccaccio, 47, 50, 73, 96, 190, 292, 384.
Boethius, 14.
Boileau, 180, 181, 192, 201.
Boke of Phylyp Sparowe, 81; quoted, 81.
Bolingbroke, Lord, 205, 206, 244.
Bonnie Dundee, 278.
Book of Martyrs, 84.
Book of Snobs, The, 398.
Book of the Duchess, The, 46.
Borough, The, 259.
Boswell, James, 237, 238, 239, 343, 344; portrait, 238.
Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 238, 239, 338, 341; quoted, 238.
Bothwell, 386.
Bride of Lammermoor, The, 318, 320.
Bridges, Robert, 441.
Bright, John, 357.
Broken Heart, The, 144.
Brontë sisters, 411–412.
Brook, The, 370.
Brooke, Rupert, 444.
Browne, Sir Thomas, 151, 311.
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 373, 378.
Browning, Robert, 313, 329, 339, 371–378, 379, 381, 383, 415, 439; portrait, 372.
Bruce, The, 53.
Brushwood Boy, The, 428.
Brut, 28.
Bryce, James, Lord, 446.
Buckingham, Duke of, 182, 188.
Bulwer-Lytton, 411.
Bunyan, John, 150, 166, 180, 185, 186, 341; portrait, 185.
Burke, Edmund, 238, 242–244, 437.
Burney, Fannie (Madame D'Arblay), 233, 234, 316.
Burns, Robert, 191, 250, 261–264, 269, 281, 293, 302, 338, 439, 440; portrait, 260.
Butler, Samuel, 184.
Butler, Samuel (2d), 412.
Byron, George Gordon, Lord, 279-285, 287, 293, 301, 312, 328, 341, 424, 439; portrait, 280.

Cædmon, 10–13; his hymn, 11.
Cædmonian poems, 13, 17.
Cain, 284.
Caleb Williams, 315.
Callista, 345.
Campaign, The, 213.
Campaspe, quoted, 120, 121.
Campbell, Thomas, 293.
Candida, 437.
Canning, George, 301, 303.
Canterbury Cathedral, illustration of, 43.
Canterbury Tales, The, 48–51, 54; quoted, 49, 50; illustrations from, frontispiece and, 51; *Prologue to*, 48–50.
Captain Singleton, 219
Captains Courageous, 427.
Carew, Thomas, 158.
Carlyle, Thomas, 309, 329, 332–340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 349, 352, 354, 357, 358, 365, 404, 415, 416, 418; portrait, 333.
Carroll, Lewis, 357.
Castle Dangerous, 318.

Castle of Indolence, The, 221.
Castle of Otranto, The, 248, 249, 314.
Castle Rackrent, 316.
Catiline, 142.
Cato, 214.
Catullus, 81.
Caxton, William, 57, 79.
Cenci, The, 288.
Cervantes, 228, 232.
Chants for Socialists, 384.
Chapman, George, 139.
Characters of Shakespeare, 308; quoted, 309.
Charge of the Light Brigade, The, 367.
Charlemagne, 21, 27, 33.
Chartism, 339.
Chatterton, Thomas, 247, 248, 250.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 29, 44–53, 54, 55, 57, 70, 95, 105, 189, 190, 232, 263, 368, 384, 439.
Chesterfield, Lord, 235; *Letter to*, 235, 236.
Chesterton, Gilbert K., 446.
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, 277, 281, 283.
Child's Garden of Verses, A, 423, 424.
Child's Laughter, A, 386.
Chimes, The, 396.
chivalry, 26, 27.
Christ in Hades, 440.
Christabel, 273–274; quoted, 273–274.
Christian of Troyes, 29.
Christmas Carol, The, 396.
Cibber, Colley, 206.
Cicero, 73, 74, 197, 244.
Citizen of the World, The, 239.
Clarissa Harlowe, 228, 229, 231.
Clayhanger, 432.
Cloister and the Hearth, The, 412.
Cloud, The, 287.
Clough, Arthur Hugh, 346, 380.
Cobbett, William, 301–302.
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 231, 249, 264, 270–275, 278, 284, 295, 303, 304, 306, 308, 310, 312, 328, 332, 343, 424, 440.
Colet, John, 79.
Colin Clout, by Skelton, 81.
Collier, Jeremy, 194.
Collins, Wilkie, 412.
Collins, William, 246.
Colonel Jack, 219.
Columbus, 76.
comedy, 87, 88, 119, 182.
Coming of Arthur, The, 369.
Complaint to his Empty Purse, 45.
Compleat Angler, The, 152.
Comus, 169.
conduct books, 34, 97.
Confessio Amantis, 42, 43.
Confessions of an English Opium-eater, 301, 302, 310, 311.
Congreve, William, 182.
Conrad, Joseph, 432.
Consolation of Philosophy, On the, 14.
Contrat Social, 227.
Copernicus, 76.
Corneille, 180.
Cornhill Magazine, The, 350, 400.
Corsair, The, 284.
Cotter's Saturday Night, The, 262.
Count Robert of Paris, 318.
Cowley, Abraham, 163.
Cowper, William, 250, 258–259, 302.
Cowper's Grave, 378.
Crabbe, George, 250, 259–261, 269, 328.
Cranford, 412.
Crashaw, Richard, 163.
Cricket on the Hearth, The, 396.
Crist, 13; quoted, 14.
Croker, J. W., 302.
Crossing the Bar, 376; quoted, 367.
Crown of Wild Olive, The, 350.
Culture and Anarchy, 353.
Cynewulf, 13, 14.

Daffodil Fields, 444.
Daily Bread, 441.
Daniel, 13.
Daniel, Samuel, 109.
Daniel Deronda, 404.
Dante, 46, 73, 246.
Darwin, Charles, 331, 355–356, 405, 415.
Dauber, 444.
David Copperfield, 391, 393, 396, 403.
Day, Thomas, 315.
De Quincey, Thomas, 300, 301, 310–311, 312, 329.
Dear Brutus, 438.
Death of Ænone, The, 369.

Decameron, The, 96.
Defence of Guinevere, The, 384.
Defoe, Daniel, 200, 214, 217 221, 222, 301.
Deirdre of the Sorrows, 435.
Dejection, an Ode, 275; quoted, 275.
Dekker, Thomas, 139, 140.
Demosthenes, 74, 244.
Deor's Lament, 10.
Departmental Ditties, 425.
Descent of Man, The, 356.
Descent of Odin, The, 247.
Deserted Village, The, 240, 259.
Diana of the Crossways, 409.
Diary, of Pepys, 182, 183, 185, 186; quoted, 183.
Dickens, Charles, 329, 339, 391-397, 398, 400, 403, 405, 407, 425; portrait, 392.
Dictes or sayinges of the philosophres, 57.
Dictionary, Johnson's, 235, 236.
Disraeli, Benjamin, Lord Beaconsfield, 357, 411, 416.
Dissertation upon Roast Pig, quoted, 308.
Doctor Faustus, 124; quoted, 125.
Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, The, 170.
Doll's House, A, 434.
Dombey and Son, 397.
Don Juan, 281, 283.
Don Quixote, 143, 228, 420.
Don Sebastian, 190.
Donne, John, 152, 162, 163.
Dora, 370.
Douglas, Gavin, 54.
Dover Beach, 380.
drama, 118; *see also* comedy, farce, history, miracle, morality, tragedy.
Dramatic Lyrics, 374.
Dramatic Romances, 374.
Drapier's Letters, 210.
Drayton, Michael, 109.
Dream of John Ball, The, 385.
Dream of the Holy Rood, The, 14.
Dryden, John, 142, 181, 186–194, 197, 208, 215, 222, 234, 237, 245, 249, 284, 317; portrait, 187.
Dumas, 424, 428.
Dunbar, William, 54.
Dunciad, The, 206.
Earthly Paradise, The, 384; quoted, 384.
Easter trope, *quem quæritis*, 66, 67.
Eclogues, of Virgil, 100.
Edinburgh Review, 279, 301, 302, 341.
Edgeworth, Maria, 315–316.
Edgeworth, Richard, 315.
Edward, ballad of, 63–65; quoted, 63–65.
Edward II, quoted, 125.
Egoist, The, 409.
Elegy in a Country Churchyard, 246.
Elene, 13.
Eliot, George, 403–406, 412, 415.
Emerson, 334, 335, 415.
Émile, 227, 315.
Emma, 317.
Empedocles on Ætna, 380.
Encyclopædia Britannica, 341.
End of the Play, The, quoted, 400.
Endymion, 291.
English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, 279, 282-283.
English Humorists, The, 398.
English Idylls, 368, 370.
Enoch Arden, 370.
Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, The, 207.
Epithalamion, 104.
Erasmus, 79.
Erewhon, 412.
essay, the familiar, 214.
Essay of Dramatic Poesy, 188.
Essay on Boswell's Johnson, Carlyle's, 302.
Essay on Boswell's Johnson, Macaulay's, 344.
Essay on Comedy, 410.
Essay on Criticism, 201, 206; quoted, 202.
Essay on Man, 206.
Essays, Bacon's, 155, 156, 214; quoted, 156.
Essays, Macaulay's, 343, 344.
Essays of Elia, 301, 302, 306–307.
Etherege, 182.
Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit, 97, 101, 120; quoted, 98, 390.
Euphuism, 97, 98.
Euripides, 123.
Evans, Mary Ann, 403. *See* George Eliot.
Eve of St. Agnes, The, 292.

Everlasting Mercy, The, quoted, 442–443.
Everyman, 85, 86; illustration from, 85.
Every Man in His Humour, 142.
Examiner, The, 301, 311.
Excursion, The, 270.
exempla, 35, 50.
Exodus, 13.

Fables, The, 190.
fabliaux, 35, 50.
Faerie Queene, The, 101–104, 105, 174, 276, 289, 368, 369; quoted, 103.
Fair Maid of the West, The, 140.
Fanny's First Play, 437.
Far from the Madding Crowd, 411.
Faraday, Michael, 357.
farces, 70, 86, 119.
Farquhar, George, 182.
Fatal Sisters, The, 247.
Fates of the Apostles, The, 13.
Felix Holt, 404.
feudalism, 22, 23.
fiction, prose, 96, 97–99, 219, 228, etc.
Fielding, Henry, 228, 230–232, 390.
Fight of Finnsburg, The, 10.
Filostrato, 47.
Fires, quoted, 441–442.
Five Nations, The, 427.
Fletcher, Giles, 105.
Fletcher, John, 139, 142, 143, 144, 181.
Fletcher, Phineas, 105.
folk literature, 61–66.
folk plays, 66.
Forced Recruit, The, 378.
Ford, John, 143.
Formation of Vegetable Mould, The, 356.
Fors Clavigera, 351.
Fortnightly Review, The, 407.
Fortunes of Nigel, The, 320.
Four P's, The, 86.
Four Georges, The, 398.
Foxe, John, 84.
France, 274.
Franklin, Benjamin, 217.
Fraser's Magazine, 335,
French Revolution, The, 336–337, 396; quoted, 337.
French Revolution, The, 255, 264, 281, 316.
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, 122.
Froissart, 221.
Froude, J. A., 357.
Fuzzy-Wuzzy, 425.

Galsworthy, John, 436.
Galton, Sir Francis, 446.
Gammer Gurton's Needle, 88.
Garrick, David, 234, 237, 240.
Gaskell, Mrs., 412.
Gay, John, 205, 221.
Genesis, 13.
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 27, 36, 368.
George, David Lloyd, 446.
Germ, The, 381.
Ghosts, 434.
Giaour, The, 284.
Gibbon, Edward, 238, 244.
Gibson, W. W., 441–442.
Gifford, William, 301, 309.
Gladstone, W. E., 357, 365, 416.
Godwin, Mary, 285.
Godwin, William, 285, 315.
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 247, 315, 328, 334.
Goetz von Berlichingen, 315.
Going to a Fight, 309.
Golden Legend, The, 57.
Goldsmith, Oliver, 217, 239–242, 306, 341; portrait, 241.
Good-natured Man, The, 240.
Gorboduc, 88, 118.
Gothic Romances, 314–315.
Gothicism, 249, 257, 316.
Gower, John, 42, 43, 53, 55, 57, 70.
Grace Abounding, 185.
Gray, Thomas, 234, 245–247, 248.
Great Expectations, 397.
Green, J. R., 357, 415.
Greene, Robert, 121, 126, 129; portrait, 121.
Gulliver's Travels, 201, 210, 211–213, 222; quoted, 211, 213; page of manuscript, 212.
Gunga Din, 425.
Guy Mannering, 320.

Hakluyt, Richard, 108, 109.
Hakluyt's *Voyages*, title-page, 108.
Hallowe'en, 262.
Hamlet, 115, 129, 134–136, 137, 309, 386; title-page of, 134.

Hardy, Thomas, 410–411, 416, 431, 439.
Harold, 370.
Harte, Bret, 428.
Havelok the Dane, 33.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 249, 427.
Hazlitt, William, 300, 301, 304, 308–311, 312, 424.
Heart of Midlothian, 320, 325–326, 420.
Henry Esmond, 398, 401, 402.
Henry VI, Part II, 40.
Henry V, 131–133; quoted, 132, 133.
Henry IV, Parts I and II, 131.
Henryson, Robert, 54.
Herbert, George, 158, 161.
Heroes and Hero Worship, 337–338.
Herrick, Robert, 157, 159, 160, 162.
Hesperides, 160; quoted, 160.
Hewlett, Maurice, 431.
Heywood, John, 86.
Heywood, Thomas, 139, 140.
Hind and the Panther, The, 189; quoted, 189.
History of England (Macaulay), 341–342, 344.
History of Frederick II, 338.
History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 244.
History of the Kings of Britain, 27.
History of the World, by Raleigh, 107.
history plays, 122, 123.
Hobbes, Thomas, 227.
Hogarth, 232; illustration by, 233.
Hogg, James, 293.
Holbein, 79.
Holinshed, Ralph, *Chronicles*, 109.
Holy Fair, The, 262.
Holy Grail, The, 369.
Homer, 47, 172, 186, 191, 204, 208.
Hooker, Richard, 152.
Horace, 189, 197, 201, 208.
Hound of Heaven, The, 440.
Hours of Idleness, 279.
House of Fame, 46.
House of Life, The, 382.
House of the Wolfings, The, 385.
Hudibras, 184, 188; quoted, 184.
Hugo, Victor, 415.
humanism, 74, 75, 95.
Hume, David, 244.
Humphrey Clinker, 232.
Hunt, J. H. Leigh, 285, 301, 311–312; portrait, 311.
Huxley, Thomas, 339, 356–357.
Hydriotaphia: Urn-burial, 151; quoted, 151, 152.
Hymn to the Pillory, 218.
Hyperion, 292–293; quoted, 292.

I wandered lonely, 269.
Ibsen, Henrik, 416, 434, 436, 437.
Idea of a University, The, 345.
Idler, The, 235.
Idyls of Theocritus, 100.
Idylls of the King, The, 31, 367, 368–369, 370; quoted, 369.
Iliad, 73, 173; translation of, by Pope, 204.
Il Penseroso, 160, 167, 246.
Imaginary Conversations, 312–314.
In Memoriam, 335, 365, 367, 370, 379, 407.
Inchbald, Mrs., 315.
Independence of United States, 255.
Industrial Revolution, 256–257, 329–330.
Inland Voyage, An, 421.
Inquiry concerning the Sublime and the Beautiful, 242.
interludes, 87.
Irish Drama, 435–436.
irony, defined, 211.
Irving, Washington, 217.
Isabella, 292.
Ivanhoe, 23, 318, 320–322.

James, Henry, 431.
James I of Scotland, 54.
James IV, 122.
Jason, 384.
Jeffrey, Francis, 301–303, 334.
Jew of Malta, The, 124.
Joan of Arc, 311.
Johannes Agricola in Meditation, 375.
John Gilpin, 259.
John, Tib, and Sir John, 86.
Johnson, Samuel, 142, 162, 217, 226, 227, 234–239, 240, 244, 245, 247, 249, 250, 257, 301, 302, 306, 341, 344, 348, 354, 385; portrait, 237.
Jolly Beggars, The, 262.

Jonathan Wild, 231.
Jones, Henry A., 436.
Jonson, Ben, 95, 139, 140–142, 144, 159, 162, 181, 189, 191, 234.
Joseph Andrews, 231.
Journal of the Plague Year, The, 219.
journalism, beginnings of, 218.
Judith, 14.
Juliana, 13.
Julius Cæsar, 96, 133, 134.
Jungle Book, The, 425, 429.
Just So Stories, 427.
Justice, 436.
Juvenal, 189.

Kant, Immanuel, 250.
Karshish, 375.
Keats, John, 105, 190, 208, 284, 288, 289–293, 312, 328, 385, 429, 440; facsimile of MS., 291.
Kenilworth, 320.
kennings, 7.
Kidnapped, 423, 424.
Kim, 427.
King Arthur's Tomb, 384.
King Charles, 278.
King Horn, The Geste of, 33.
King John, by Bishop Bale, 87.
King of the Golden River, The, 347.
King's Quair, The, 54.
King's Tragedy, The, 54, 382.
Kingsley, Charles, 339, 345, 412.
Kipling, Rudyard, 419, 420, 425–431, 439, 444; portrait, 426.
Kipps, 433.
Knight of the Burning Pestle, The, 143.
Kubla Khan, 274; quoted, 274.
Kyd, Thomas, 126, 135.

Laboratory, The, 375.
Lady Geraldine's Courtship, 378.
Lady of the Lake, The, 276, 278, 320.
Lake School, 264, 275.
L'Allegro, 160, 167.
Lamb, Charles, 182, 300, 301, 304–308, 310, 312, 324, 328, 424; portrait, 305.
Lamb, Mary, 304–305.
Lamia, 292.
Land of Heart's Desire, The, 435.
Landor, Walter Savage, 294, 329, 385.
Langland, William, 40.
language of poetry, 266.
Lantern Bearers, The, 421.
Laodamia, quoted, 266.
L'Art Poetique, 201.
Last Days of Pompeii, The, 411.
Last Fight of the Revenge, 107; quoted, 107, 108.
Latter Day Pamphlets, 339.
Lay of the Last Minstrel, The, 276, 278.
Lay Sermons, 357.
Lays of Ancient Rome, 342.
Layamon, 28, 34, 36.
Lead, Kindly Light, 344.
Legend of Good Women, The, 46, 47.
Legend of Leonore, The, 438.
Legend of Montrose, A, 320.
Leonardo da Vinci, 77.
Lessing, G. E., 250.
Letters on a Regicide Peace, 243.
Lewes, George Henry, 404.
Lewis, Matthew G., 315.
Liars, The, 436.
Liberal, The, 301, 312.
Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, The, quoted, 356.
Life and Letters of Cromwell, The, 338.
Life of John Sterling, The, 338.
Life of Johnson, by Boswell, 238, 239, 240; quoted, 240.
Life of Napoleon, 277.
Life of Nelson, 294.
Life of Wesley, 294.
Lindsay, Sir David, 55.
Lincoln, Abraham, 244.
Lines Composed above Tintern Abbey, 269; quoted, 269–270.
Little Dorrit, 393, 395.
Little Gest of Robin Hood, A, 65.
Little Minister, The, 438.
Lives of the English Poets, 237.
Locke, John, 192, 199, 227.
Locksley Hall, quoted, 418.
Lodge, Thomas, 126.
London, 235.
London Magazine, The, 301, 310, 312.
Longfellow, H. W., 415.
Lord Ormont and his Aminta, 409.
Lorris, Guillaume de, 45.
Loss and Gain, 345.

Lotos-Eaters, The, 370.
Lovelace, Richard, 157, 158.
Lowland Scottish, 263.
Luck of Roaring Camp, The, 428.
Lucrece, 126.
Lucretius, 370.
Luther, Martin, 82, 83.
Lycidas, 167–169, 234; quoted, 168, 169.
Lydgate, John, 53, 55, 57.
Lyly, John, 97, 98, 101, 120, 121, 126, 129.
lyric poetry, 10, 35, 104, 105; defined, 157.
Lyrical Ballads, 264, 269, 271, 272, 305.

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Lord, 154, 239, 302, 329, 341–344, 345, 357.
MacFlecknoe, 189.
Machiavelli, 77.
Macpherson, James, 247.
Magna Instauratio, 154.
Magnificence, 80.
Maid of Honour, The, 143.
Maid's Tragedy, The, 143.
Malone, Edmund, 238.
Malory, Sir Thomas, 30–33, 36, 57, 368.
Man and Superman, 437.
Man Who Would Be King, The, 429.
Mandalay, 425.
Mandeville, Sir John, 42.
M'Andrew's Hymn, 430; quoted, 430.
Manfred, 284.
Man's Place in Nature, 357.
Margaret Ogilvy, 438
Marino Faliero, 284.
Marlowe, Christopher, 95, 124–126, 129.
Marmion, 276, 278, 320.
Marpessa, 440.
Marriage of Heaven and Hell, The, 294.
Martial, 189.
Martin Chuzzlewit, 393, 396.
Mary Barton, 412.
Masefield, John, 420, 441, 442–444.
Masque of Anarchy, The, 287.
Massinger, Philip, 143.
Maud, 367, 368.
Maupassant, Guy de, 428.
Mayor of Casterbridge, The, 411.
Mazeppa, 284.
Meredith, George, 232, 406–410, 416, 431, 439; portrait, 408.
Medal, The, 189.
Men and Women, 374.
metaphysical poetry, 162.
Meung, Jean de, 45.
Michael Angelo, 77.
Middlemarch, 404.
Middleton, Thomas, 139.
Midsummer's Night's Dream, A, 116, 120.
Mill, John Stuart, 339, 345–346 352, 358.
Mill on the Floss, The, 403, 404, 405–406; quoted, 406.
Milton, John, 76, 105, 150, 160, 163–176, 180, 191, 199, 213, 216, 222, 246, 368, 369; portrait, 165.
Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, The, 276.
miracle plays, 67–69.
Modern Painters, 347–348, 349.
Modest Proposal, 210.
Molière, 180, 181.
Moll Flanders, 219.
Monastery, The, 320.
Montaigne, 215.
Montrose, Marquis of, 157, 158.
Moore, Thomas, 293, 312.
Moral Essays, 206.
morality plays, 69–70, 86, 87, 88.
More, Sir Thomas, 79, 80, 82, 88, 155.
Morley, John, Lord, 416, 446.
Morris, William, 382, 383 385, 418.
Morte Darthur, 30–33, 57; quoted, 31; illustration from, 32.
Mr. Britling Sees It Through, 433.
Mr. Polly, 433.
Murray, Gilbert, 446.
Musical Instrument, A, 378.
My First Acquaintance with Poets, 308.
My Lord the Elephant, 428.
Mysteries of Udolpho, The, 314.

Naturalist's Voyage, A, 355.
Naulahka, The, 425.
Necessity of Atheism, The, 285.

neo-classicism, 191.
Nero, 441.
New Atlantis, The, 155.
New Way to Pay Old Debts, A, 143.
New Worlds for Old, 433.
Newcomes, The, 398, 402; quoted, 402.
Newman, John Henry, 344–345, 346, 352, 358, 415.
News from Nowhere, 385.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 192, 199.
Nibelungenlied, 385.
Nicholas Nickleby, 391, 393, 396.
Night Thoughts, 246.
Noble Numbers, 160.
North, Sir Thomas, 95.
Northanger Abbey, 316.
Northern Farmer, The, 370.
Nostromo, 432.
Nouvelle Heloïse, La, 227.
Novum Organum, 154.
Noyes, Alfred, 441, 444.

Obermann, 380.
Occleve, Thomas, 53.
Ode on Intimations of Immortality, quoted, 270.
Odes, by Gray, 246; by Collins, quoted, 246.
Odyssey, 205; translated by Pope, 205.
Of Persons One Would Wish to Have Seen, 309.
Old Curiosity Shop, The, 396.
Old English, 4.
Old Lady Shows Her Medals, The, 438.
Old Mortality, 320.
Old Wives' Tale, The, 432.
Oliver Twist, 329, 393, 395, 396; illustrated, 394.
Olney Hymns, 258.
On a Grecian Urn, 292.
On the Indian Jugglers, 309.
On Liberty, 346.
On Translating Homer, 352.
One of Our Conquerors, 409.
oral literature, 1, 61.
oratory, 244.
Ordeal of Richard Feverel, The, 409.
Origin of Species, The, 331, 356.
Orm, 34.
Ormulum, 34.
Orphan, The, 181.
Ossian, 247; quoted, 247.
Otway, Thomas, 181.
Our Mutual Friend, 395, 396.
Oxford Movement, The, 344, 345.
Oxford reformers, 79, 82.

Palace of Pleasure, Painter's, 96.
Pamela, 228, 230.
Pantisocracy, 271.
Paolo and Francesca, 441.
Paracelsus, 373.
Paradise Lost, 76, 169, 172–174, 180, 216, 342, 369; quoted, 173; title page, 174.
Paradise Regained, 174.
Pardoner and the Friar, The, 86.
Parish Register, The, 259.
Parliament of Birds, 46.
Past and Present, 338–339.
pastorals, 99, 100.
Pater, Walter H., 357.
Pauline, 329, 373.
Peacock, Thomas Love, 407.
Peele, George, 126.
Peer Gynt, 434.
Pendennis, 398, 401, 402, 403.
Pentameron, The, 313.
Pepys, Samuel, 182, 183, 185.
Percy, Bishop, 238, 249.
Peregrine Pickle, 232.
Pericles and Aspasia, 313, 314.
Peter Pan, 439.
Petrarch, 50, 73.
Philaster, 143.
Phillips, Stephen, 440–441, 444.
Phœnix, The, 14.
Pickwick Papers, The, 329, 393, 396, 398.
Piers Plowman, 40, 41, 55; quoted, 41.
Pilgrim's Progress, 180, 185, 186, 188, 194, 221.
Pinero, Sir A. W., 436.
Pippa Passes, 373, 374.
Plain Tales from the Hills, 425.
Plautus, 88, 119.
Playboy of the Western World, The, 436.
Pleasures of Hating, 310.
Plutarch's *Lives*, 95, 96, 133.
Poe, Edgar Allan, 249, 427.

Poems (Tennyson's, 1833), 365.
Poems, Chiefly Lyrical, 365.
poetic diction, 266.
Poet-laureate, 266, 294, 441.
Political Justice, 315.
Pope, Alexander, 154, 193, 197, 199, 201–208, 213, 217, 218, 221, 222, 234, 245, 246, 249, 284, 439; portraits, 203, 206.
Porter, Jane, 315.
Præterita, 351.
Prelude, The, 270.
Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, 348, 381–384, 440.
Princess, The, 367, 368. 370.
Principles of Political Economy, 346.
printing, introduction of, 56–58, 76, 77.
Prior, Matthew, 205, 221.
Prisoner of Chillon, The, 284.
Progress of Poesy, The, 246.
Prometheus Unbound, 287.
Prospice, 375; quoted, 376.
Protestantism, 82–84.
Prothalamion, 104, 105; quoted, 104, 105.
Proud Maisie, quoted, 279.
Puck of Pook's Hill, 427.
Punch, 398.
Purchas, 109.
Puritanism, 93.

Quarterly Review, 290, 301, 303, 309.
Queen Mab, 287.
Queen Mary, 370.
Quentin Durward, 320.
Quiller-Couch, Sir A. T., 431.

Racine, 180, 181.
Radcliffe, Mrs. Anne, 314–315, 316.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 101, 105–109, 110, 155; portrait, 106.
Ralph Roister Doister, 88, 118.
Rambler, The, 235, 306.
Rape of the Lock, The, 201, 202–204, 218; quoted, 202, 204.
Raphael, 77.
Rasselas, 235.
rationalism, 192, 193.
Reade, Charles, 412.
Rebellious Susan, 436.
Recessional, 427; quoted, 430.
Recluse, The, 270.
Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, 57.
Reflections upon the Revolution in France, 243.
Reform Bill of 1832, 257, 328, 329, 344, 345.
Rehearsal, The, 182.
Religio Laici, 189.
Religio Medici, 151.
Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, 249, 276.
Republic, Plato's, 79.
Requiem, quoted, 423.
Requiescat, quoted, 380.
Retaliation, 240.
Return of the Native, The, 411.
Review, The, 218.
reviews, the, 301–303.
revival of learning, 72–77.
Reynard the Fox, 429.
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 237, 348.
Richard Cœur de Lion, 26, 65; romance of, 26.
Richard Yea and Nay, 431.
Richardson, Samuel, 228–230, 231, 232, 233, 342, 390.
Riders to the Sea, 436.
Rienzi, 411.
Ring and the Book, The, 376–377.
Rivals, The, 242.
Rob Roy, 320.
Robbers, The, 315.
Robin Hood, ballads of, 65; folk plays about, 66.
Robinson Crusoe, 201, 217, 219, 220, 221; illustration to, 220.
Roderick Random, 232.
Roman de la Rose, 45, 46.
romances, 25–34, 36, 102.
romanticism, 257–258, 295, 306.
Romola, 404.
Roots of the Mountains, The, 385.
Rose Aylmer, quoted, 294.
Rose Mary, 382.
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 54, 348, 381–383, 415, 440.
Rossetti, W. M., 381.
Roundabout Papers, The, 400.
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 227, 229, 240, 250, 283, 315.
Roxana, 219.

Rugby Chapel, 380.
Ruin, The, 17.
Ruskin, John, 339, 346–352, 354, 358, 415, 418.
Rydal Mount, picture, 268.

Sainte-Beuve, 353.
Saints and Sinners, 436.
saints' legends, 34, 50.
Samson Agonistes, 166, 175; quoted, 175.
Sandford and Merton, 315.
Sandra Belloni, 409.
Sartor Resartus, 329, 334–335, 339, 344.
satire, defined, 189, 207.
Satire of the Three Estates, The, 55.
Scenes from Clerical Life, 403, 404, 407.
Schiller, J. C. F. von, 250, 315.
Schlegel, A. W., 303.
School for Scandal, 242.
School of Terror, 267, 315.
Scott, Sir Walter, 23, 249, 275–279, 283, 288, 295, 301, 302, 316, 317–326, 328, 343, 412, 424; portrait, 319.
Scottish Chiefs, The, 315.
Seafarer, The, 17.
Seasons, The, 221.
Second Mrs. Tanqueray, The, 436.
Second Jungle Book, The, 425.
Sejanus, 142.
Seneca, 123.
Sense and Sensibility, 316.
Sentimental Journey, The, 232.
Sentimental Tommy, 438.
Sesame and Lilies, 350.
Seven Lamps of Architecture, The, 348.
Seven Seas, The, 427.
Shadwell, Thomas, 189, 190.
Shakespeare, William, 40, 89, 92, 93, 95, 105, 114, 115, 118, 122, 123, 124, 126–139, 142, 143, 144, 148, 155, 161, 181, 186, 190, 191, 192, 199, 205, 220, 222, 232, 237, 249, 303, 324, 413; 420; portraits, 127, 135.
Shaving of Shagpat, The, 407, 409.
Shaw, George Bernard, 420, 436–438.
She Walks in Beauty, quoted, 282.
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 190, 191, 208, 284, 285–289, 290, 301, 312, 328, 332, 373; portrait, 286.
Shepherds' Calendar, The, 100, 101; illustration, 101.
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 242.
She Stoops to Conquer, 240, 242.
Shirley, James, 144, 159.
Shoemaker's Holiday, The, 140.
Short History of the English People, A, 357.
Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage, A, 194.
Shortest Way with the Dissenters, The, 218.
Sidney, Sir Philip, 86, 98, 99, 105, 107, 109.
Sigurd the Volsung, 385.
Silas Marner, 404.
Silverado Squatters, The, 422.
Simple Story, A, 315.
Sir Charles Grandison, 230, 342.
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 29, 30, 36, 55.
Sir Roger de Coverley Essays, 201, 216.
Sister Helen, 382.
Skelton, John, 80, 81.
Sketches by Boz, 391.
Skylark, The, 287.
Smith, Adam, 238, 244.
Smollett, Tobias, 232.
social reform in literature, 40, 41.
Sofa, The, quoted, 259.
songs, 35.
sonnets, 84, 89, 99, 104, 105.
Sophocles, 411.
Sohrab and Rustum, 381.
Solitary Reaper, The, 268–269; quoted, 267.
Songs of Expression, 294.
Songs of Innocence, 294.
Sonnets from the Portuguese, 378, 382.
Sophocles, 123.
Sordello, 374.
Southey, Robert, 264, 271, 293–294, 301, 303, 313.
Spanish Tragedy, The, 135.
Specimens of English Dramatic Poets, 306.
Spectator, The, 201, 214–217, 235, 306; title page of, 215.

Speech on Conciliation with America, 242.
Spencer, Herbert, 404.
Spenser, Edmund, 54, 92, 99–105, 109, 148, 151, 155, 174, 190, 199, 222, 276, 289, 290, 368.
Spirit of the Age, The, 308.
Splendid Spur, The, 431.
Stalky and Co., 425.
Steele, Sir Richard, 214–217, 218, 219, 222, 242.
Stephen, Sir Leslie, 416, 446.
Stepping Westward, 269.
Sterne, Laurence, 232, 240.
Stevenson, Robert Louis, 309, 416, 419, 420–424, 425, 428, 439; portrait, 422.
Stones of Venice, The, 348; quoted, 348–349.
Story of Rimini, The, 312.
Story of the Glittering Plain, The, 385.
Strafford, 373, 374.
Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, The, 422–423.
Strife, 436.
Subjection of Women, The, 346.
Suckling, Sir John, 157, 158.
Sundering Flood, The, 385.
Surrey, Henry Howard, Earl of, 84, 85, 88, 100.
Suspiria de Profundis, 311.
Swift, Jonathan, 205, 208–213, 214, 217, 219, 222, 242, 306, 318, 334.
Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 313, 385–386, 416, 429, 440.
Synge, John, 435–436.
System of Logic, 346.

Table Talk, 301.
Tale of a Tub, 208, 211, 334.
Tale of the Cock and the Fox, 54.
Tale of Two Cities, A, 395.
Tales of a Grandfather, The, 277.
Tales of Fashionable Life, 316.
Tales of Terror, 315.
Talisman, The, 320, 322–323, 325; quoted, 322.
Tam o' Shanter, 262.
Tamburlaine, 124.
Tatler, The, 214, 217, 218.
Taylor, Jeremy, 152, 311.
Tempest, The, 130, 136, 137, 220; quoted, 138.
Temple, Sir William, 208, 209, 215.
Temple, The, 161; quoted, 161.
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 16, 31, 105, 329–330, 335, 339, 364–371, 375, 379, 381, 383, 406, 415, 430, 439, 440; portrait, 366.
Tennyson, Frederick and Charles, 364.
Terence, 88, 119.
Tess of the D'Urbervilles, 411.
Testament of Cressid, The, 54.
Thackeray, W. M., 232, 329, 339, 350, 397–403, 405, 407; portraits, 399, 401.
Thaddeus of Warsaw, 315.
Theater, in Middle Ages, 66, 68; change in the Renaissance, 87; Elizabethan, 115–118, 141.
Theobald, Lewis, 205, 206.
Theocritus, 100.
They, 429.
Thompson, Francis, 440.
Thomson, James, 221.
Thoroughfares, 441.
Thunderbolt, The, 436.
Thyrsis, 380.
Time and Tide, 350.
Time Machine, The, 432.
Times, The, 301.
Tintern Abbey, 269, 305; quoted, 269–270.
Titian, 77.
To a Highland Girl, 269.
To a Nightingale, 292.
To Althea, from Prison, 158; quoted, 158.
To Autumn, 292.
To Lucasta going to the Wars, 158; quoted, 158.
To Psyche, 292.
Tolstoi, 352, 416.
Tottel's Miscellany, 86, 88.
Tom Jones, 231.
Tom Thumb, 230.
Tommy and Grizel, 438.
Tono-Bungay, 433.
Tractarian Movement, The, 344–345.
tragedy, 87, 88, 123, 124, 181.
Traveller, The, 239.
Travels of Sir John Mandeville, 42.
Travels with a Donkey, 421.

Treasure Island, 422, 424.
Tristram and Iseult, 381.
Tristram of Lyonesse, 386.
Tristram Shandy, 232.
Troilus, 46, 47, 54.
Trollope, Anthony, 412, 415.
True Born Englishman, The, 218.
True Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, 171.
Tyndale, William, 83, 88, 96, 97.
Tyndall, John, 339, 356.

Udall, Nicholas, 88.
Ulysses (Tennyson's), 370.
Ulysses (Phillips's), 441.
Under the Greenwood Tree, 411.
Underwoods, 423.
Unto This Last, 350.
Utopia, 79, 80; quoted, 80.

Vanity Fair, 398, 401, 402.
Vanity of Human Wishes, The, 235.
Vathek, 314.
Venus and Adonis, 126.
Venice Preserved, 181.
Vicar of Wakefield, The, 239, 240.
Village, The, 259.
Virgil, 46, 100, 172, 190, 191, 197.
Virginians, The, 398, 402.
Virginibus Puerisque, 422.
Vittoria, 409.
Voltaire, 199.

Wace, 28.
Waldere, 10.
Wallace, 54.
Wallace, Alfred Russell, 355.
Walpole, Horace, 248, 249, 314.
Walton, Izaak, 152.
Wanderer, The, 17.
War in the Air, The, 432.
Watson, Sir William, 440.
Waverley, 277, 316, 320.
Waverley Novels, The, 318–319.
Way of the World, The, 182.
Wealth of Nations, The, 244.
Webster, John, 139, 140.
Weekly Political Register, The, 301.
Weir of Hermiston, 423.
Wells, H. G., 420, 432–433.
Westbrook, Harriet, 285.
Westminster Review, The, 301, 404.
Westward Ho! 412.
What Every Woman Knows, 438.
White Devil, The, 140.
White Ship, The, 382.
Why Heroes of Romance Are Insipid, 309.
Widow of the Bye Street, The, 442, 444.
Widsith, 16.
Wild Goose Chase, The, 143.
William the Conqueror, 22.
Window in Thrums, A, 438.
With the Night Mail, 429.
Without Benefit of Clergy, 428.
Wordsworth, William, 190, 208, 249, 256, 264–270, 272, 274, 275, 278, 284, 288, 295, 303, 306, 310, 312, 324, 328, 332, 335, 429, 439, 441; portrait, 265.
World, The, 235.
Wulfstan, 15.
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 84, 85, 88, 100.
Wycherley, William, 182.
Wyclif, John, 42, 82, 97.

Ye Mariners of England, 293.
Yeats, W. B., 435.
Young, Edward, 246.

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49 - 1
50 - 2 - 3 - 4